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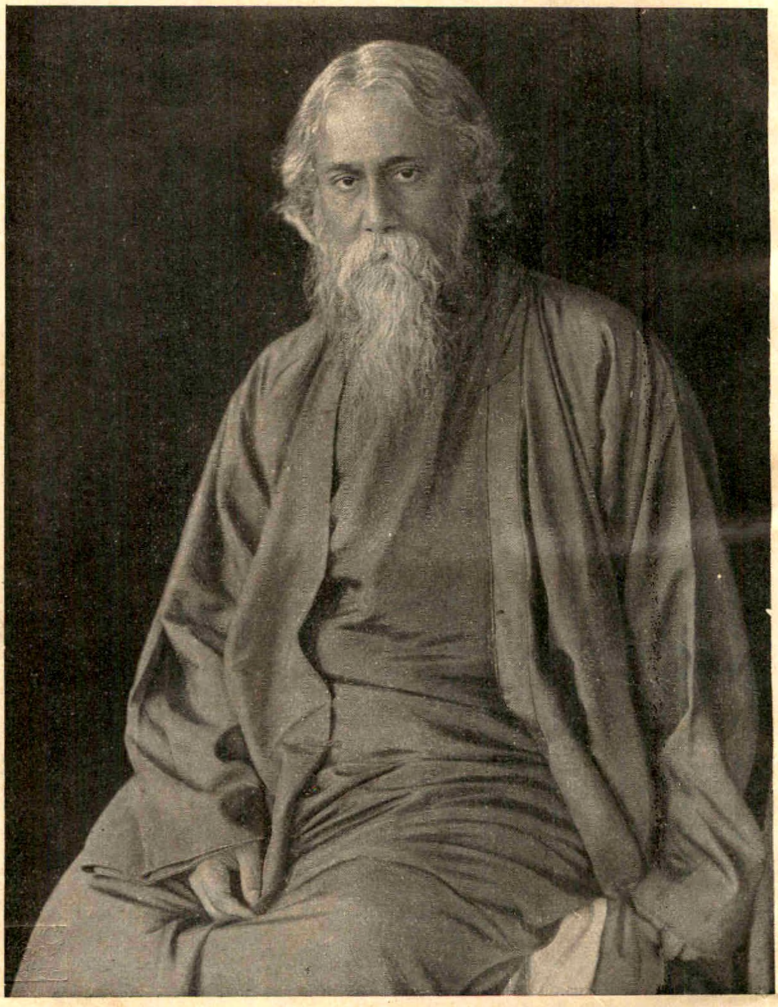

RABINDRANATH TAGORE, N.L., D.Lit.

President, First All-India Philosophical Congress

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JANUARY, 1926

AN ARCTIC VOYAGE: NORTH SPITZBERGEN

The story I have set out to tell is of a plain voyage, and the element of adventure or tragedy in the Arctic or Antarctic will be absent.

Originally I went north of the Arctic Circle in 1921 at the time of the Norwegian marine strike when a boat was sent round to the Barents Sea in order to get supplies to villages in Northern Lapland and the north of Russia. At times I assisted with the engines and got to know and appreciate the sterling qualities of the Norwegians.

Last year I went partly to collect for certain members of the 1921 Expedition some specimens of tiny flowers that in midsummer raise their heads amidst the snowy wastes of Spitzbergen and which during that period fight for their meagre heritage of sunlight and also to study the mining conditions.

Leaving Newcastle for Bergen one plunges into the atmosphere of Norway immediately on the cross-North Sea vessel, and in passing down the Tyne and comparing its banks with the approach of Bergen two days later one moves not only from one land to another but in a measure from one world to another.

The Tyne with its now almost deserted shipyards, its banks covered with small disjointed rows of poor buildings

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looking as though they had been scattered by a giant hand and many of them afterwards savagely kicked and trampled on, is a depressing farewell glimpse and again and again one thanks God for the distant border of green hills and sky beyond.

The approach to Bergen towards the Southern end of Norway is remarkably like the approach to Nagasaki and more than equals it in beauty. From there one wanders up a coast winding in and out among tiny islands and entering vast and, sombre fjords whose precipitous sides remind one of the grandest cathedral one has ever imagined and whose sombre beauty remains in the mind always.

It is all so different to the lately left Tyne, that mother whose offspring are the giant liners of our time.

These vertical walls of the fjords seem to point to an almost inconceivable depth of water and one is reminded of that story of Edgar Allen Poe called the Malstrom.

Actually as one approaches the Loffoden Islands he can see the spot designated thus and it is more than likely his story had a foundation of fact.

I suppose most of you have read the tale of that gruesome spot where the waters sometimes swirl whirlpool like, ever faster and faster, until the hollow becomes a cone infinitely deep into which is sucked away, for ever, any unfortunate ship that comes into its remorseless grip.

It is a legend with perhaps some basis of fact but in summer only just north of the circle, where evenings still darken, in that dull light and in the wonder of that intricate and rugged coastline such legends ring true.

Actually the Malstrom is merely a swaying current with lateral eddies, but who knows but what in bygone ages when the world was younger, that its then more uncertain waters foamed and wove in the legendary manner.

So one goes north in Summer, on a ship, 900 tons or so, winding in and out among islands and bays, often so close that it seems one can touch the coast. Certainly, at times, one passes within twenty feet; on a clear sunlit day it is interesting; but on a bleak fog-bound rainy evening I think of the winter voyage of small ships that go north till they pull up amidst the frozen coast of Russia. Imagine it day after day, and week after week, always darkness, always the passing of island after island, reef after reef, ever looking for lights on a snow and fog-bound coast.

Navigation along the Norwegian coast in winter is a fine art. You must understand the coastal boats cannot stand well out to sea. They work their way in and out along the coast, to tiny villages that depend on them for their food and link with the outer world.

Navigation is handicapped by the impossibility of taking sun observations, and the changing conditions of the magnetic variation. I will have more to say regarding this later, but sufficient to state that in simple language, while the line of longitude 6° or 10° or 30° east of Greenwich, terminates at the geographical north pole, yet the compass needle does not point geographically north, but so many degrees west and the number of degrees is not constant, but varies from place to place, generally inclining further to the geographical west as you go north.

Thus with neither sun, moon, nor stars, but possibly fog and blizzard, navigation is difficult.

In the first case, year by year the magnetic variation of the compass along the coast is determined; for even this variation is not constant but ebbs and flows, year by year, due to some obscure factor connected with the oscillation of the world or other reason.

Leaving the last known spot, the revolutions of the engine are calculated on a counter on the bridge, and the speed accurately determined, a course is then set by compass allowing for the magnetic variation, which is carefully noted not only for a few miles but every mile and, even in some cases, every few hundred yards of the journey. By constant and untiring checking even in utter darkness, every hidden rock and aggressive cape is avoided..

You must remember that not only is the compass course impossible to work to as it stands, but the allowances to be made are not constant but vary day by day, and almost hour by hour, and must be noted and all this in twenty-four hour periods of darkness.

Before leaving the coast of Norway and Lapland, I will touch on one or two things that may be somewhat surprising.

In the first case, even in the far north of Europe, Hammerfest, Vardo, etc., you will find in every village a network of telephone and lighting wires. Telephones in the winter may be the only source of communication from house to house while, with twenty-four hour periods of darkness, electric light is appreciated.

The people are simple fisher folk, but you will see women smartly dressed in these villages, and it is difficult indeed in summer, except for the snow-capped surrounding mountains to imagine you are in the north of Norway.

Far beyond the North Cape, to the east you will get the biggest surprise of all in seeing a smelting works, while at Kirkeness on the Russian border, you will note the houses that terminate in minarets, the first evidence of Russian proximity and the extension even to this very land we are in.

In 1921 I came across Russian ships in a tiny harbour in this part of the world. They were well painted and beautifully clean—and the reason—well, with a Government brought about by trades unions and the like, there was no occasion for them any more, but discipline remained, the discipline of the Soviet Government.

The captain had absolute power, and failure to carry out orders meant death.

I mentioned the first eastern effect at the north of Russia of the minarets. There is another in seeing the Lapps. It is strange the resemblance between a Lapp and a Bhutia—much the same colour and way of dressing.

From Hammerfest, the true Arctic voyage commences.

I take it, most of you know the exact location of Spitzbergen. It is the last known land between Europe proper and the pole.

Together with North East Land, it is about 25,000 square miles in extent. To the west lies King Frederick Land in the north of Greenland a matter of 250 miles away and to the east Franz Joseph Land about the same distance.

The coast of North East Land is a matter of 600 miles from the pole.

Coal is found and worked in places vigorously, now the Norwegians have been handed Spitzbergen into their keeping. Indeed, there was an output of about 200,000 tons last year.

The possibility of working this is due to the influence of the Gulf Stream so far north, it being indeed the open door to the Arctic.

By its aid the western coast of Spitzbergen can be approached in summer time, while throughout the year the eastern side is ice-locked and, to a great extent, unexplored.

The Gulf Stream, as you know, is a stream in the Atlantic, flowing in a north-easterly direction originating in the main from the Carribean Sea, though I also incline to the belief given in an old book of Mantell's I read some time ago, and which was written nearly 70 years ago, that it originates in the Arabian sea.

Its origin is open to much controversy: it may be due to trade winds, varying temperatures and sea density, differences in level due to evaporation, the outflow of rivers, the rotation of the earth on its axis, also solar influences, each of which demands a seperate lecture.

Looking through interesting papers, I am inclined to think that the piling up of waters round the equator, due to the rotation of the earth originates the flow of warm water, and its lagging causes it to flow in a north-easterly direction. This theory has recently been applied even to the movement of continents throughout the ages, and I see no reason to suppose that it should not be applied to a mobile element such as the ocean, acting with great rapidity and regularity.

You may ask yourself, as indeed I asked myself, how do you know it is the Gulf Stream of the Carribean, that you find off the Spitzbergen Coast. In the Carribean, it is a stream flowing across the ocean as definite as a river, but northwards round by the coast of Spain it spreads out enveloping the British Isles, until meeting the ice-bound coast of eastern Greenland and western Spitzbergen, it narrows in again, and finally dies away in the eternal icepack 600 miles from the pole, and roughly on the longitude of Greenwich.

Well, asking myself that question, I found it answered, not only by people such as those who made the voyage on the *Challenger* and followed the stream as far as they were able in various directions, but the true story of its flow is to be found in a minute single-cell vegetable organism. It is strange when you come to think of it, that, one of the meanest things that God in his wisdom has made, can point out the course of one of the mightiest movements on the surface of His world.

These organisms come into being only in certain temperatures and the evidence of a certain species along the line known as the Gulf Stream assists us to trace its course, and, to determine that the same water finds its way from the Carribean to the Arctic.

I mention the magnetic bearing, because in a region in which, even in summer, heavy snow may fall or the sky be obscured by heavy clouds for days together, it is an all important point especially when one is navigating uncharted coasts and ultimately sailing unknown seas.

Much of the lack of information regarding position of the poles is due to the introduction of the map known as Mercator's Projection.

The day may come, possibly in our time, when the route to Japan and the Far East will be directly across the north polar basin and, if that day does come, the maps of that region will be as familiar to us as those which follow an easterly course *viâ* Suez.

It is difficult on my part to talk much about the relation of the geographical with the magnetic pole, but I will endeavour to give an easy exposition of the matter, put very simply, because it will give you some idea as to the necessity of and value of polar exploration.

My first step in simplicity is to ask you to throw your minds back some millions of years, when the world we now know as a well regulated and not altogether unattractive sphere, set out on its adventurous journey through the heavens, a whirling molten mass, now taking its course close to a molten globe, the sun,—so that all the beginning of life perished and then moving on a new orbit, wider, and plunging into infinite cold.

The story of that erratic journey is told in the history of the rocks and stones and laboriously collected by our geologists and scientists, and can be read as the most enchanting story of the ages.

And, as that early molten world of ours spun on its course to a definite orbit, its matter blended, mixed, and took finally the geographical outline which is familiar to us to-day and then it was discovered that a needle magnetised seemingly ever turned one way.

In the neighbourhood of the pole one realises as a layman very rapidly what is meant by magnetic variation, due to the fact that the magnetic pole lies a matter of 1,200 miles from the geographical, and, on a remote island, in the north of Canada.

Seldom indeed does the compass needle point to the true geographical north and it has been one of the chief works of explorers ever since they started to enquire into the surface of the globe to find out what variation there was.

At points remote from the geographical pole, where the needle points with a fairly uniform regularity northwards, on the lines of longitude, such variations may be readily seen and the year by year fluctuations seen and worked to.

Even so it must be noted, that, at the most, compass bearings must be approximate, for even the situation of the north magnetic and south magnetic poles move in a tiny orbit of their own, due in a measure to the oscillation of the earth and change of structure in its uncharted and unknown interior.

I do not know if it has ever struck you what an unstable world we live in, possibly molten within, a globe carrying an indifferent humanity, all dependent upon gravitation, that mysterious phrase of an infinitely remote universe.

With the north geographical and magnetic pole, so far apart, it is obvious that as one approaches the polar basin the needle must, in the Spitzbergen waters, turn towards its Mecca the magnetic north, yet the world is so constituted that taking a course along 10° E. longitude the needle does not maintain its uniform direction but varies hour by hour, day by day, changing from a comparatively straight course rather out of line to the longitude, until well within the 80th latitude it swings round in a parabolic curve, and, ignoring the north pole points approximately direct to the magnetic. In other words, when you are in the neighbourhood of the north pole, your needle will point south geographically to that remote island in north Canada, nearly 1,200 miles away.

Navigation in fog and blizzard both of frequent occurrence is further handicapped by the fact that, in these northern latitudes, the compass displays an excitement due to its proximity to the magnetic pole, and sways eagerly from side to side, and dips to an ever increasing angle, rendering its almost human antics difficult to follow, and reducing the dependence that can be placed upon it, in the one part of the world, where the obscurity of the sun renders its use most necessary.

On leaving Hammerfest, the most northerly town in the world in bad weather, the course was set by log and compass. We passed Bear Island, a solitary spot, rather more than half way between Norway and Spitzbergen without opportunity of sun bearings, and entirely dependent upon the compass, and it was strange how true a course was made, and how one came through a heavy sea and rain that obscured everything for days, when no bearing could be obtained and yet, ultimately with astonishing accuracy there loomed up, great dull black cliffs of a lonely arctic island, and one realised the importance of the need of knowledge of those compass variations which I have so lightly touched on.

Here, with that island infinitely remote, the work of a long line of explorers and navigators, the question of the need of knowledge of magnetic observation seems a small thing, but on such days and in such surroundings, as the day one passed Bear Island, this question was the only thing that seemed to matter at all.

One of the most astonishing things in Arctic waters is the change of climate and following days of bad weather the first glimpse of Spitzbergen on a clear day is a never to be forgotten sight.

One saw ahead to the north-east a scintillating pinnacle of ice sparkling and glowing under the sunlight, and as, one crept up, peak after peak came in view like a series of diamonds set in opal and turquoise.

Even so far south you will find small bergs in midsummer, which strangely enough drift in from the east, the reason being that the east coast of Spitzbergen being outside the influence of the Gulf Stream is still ice-bound.

I venture to think that in no part of the world is there such a fairy-like beauty as the coast of Spitzbergen in midsummer.

The sky can be of a most delicate shade of blue, while, as one goes north, one sees glacier after glacier, each hundreds of square miles in extent, which move imperceptibly down to the ocean where they break off in a series of icebergs that go on their last journey with the quiet uncanny silence of lands that approach the pole.

Outside the Arctic it is difficult to realise the immensity of the glaciers and the effect of that great wall of green blue, almost transparent, mass. Close to it, one felt as though it was the rather misty window of the world through which one could almost see into another beyond our imagination.

To walk on these icy masses is a trying business owing to the slippery surface, while here and there, are great crevasses which require care in crossing.

If you throw an object into them you can hear it echo its way down until the noise fades away into immensity, but you never hear it strike at its journey's end.

I remember climbing down into one of these glacier crevasses at Magdelena Bay. One lowered oneself precariously until one exchanged the sunlight for a world of turquoise infinitely beautiful and infinitely terrible.

There was something remorseless about these great silent walls two hundred feet high at water's edge so nearly transparent and one had the feeling of something akin to terror lest he should be entombed—and then the strangest thing of all was, that out of the seeming silence and infinite stillness of eternal ice, one came to realise faint sounds, and was suddenly conscious that this unfathomed mass of ice was never still but was moving imperceptibly seaward. There was something overwhelming in the feeling that this ice mass of the size of a country was in transit, and I have never before been so conscious of an uncanny sense of insecurity as in that tomb-like cavern in the ice.

West Spitzbergen is almost entirely cut in two by Ice Fiord which terminates in Dixon Bay to the north, and a glacier which, so far as I know, is unnamed and the vessel was the first to go to this Bay under steam.

High up on the hills side of Ice Fiord one glimpses for the first time the Sombre Red of the Arctic.

To those of you who have read Peary's 'North Pole' you will find his reference to the familiar "red banner of the arctic" off the region of Cape Columbia in Grinnel Land and the north-west of Greenland.

In Wells' book the "War of the Worlds" you may remember the story of when the Martians came to the earth, they introduced a weed that lavishly grew and which, instead of being green, as our earthly vegetation is, was crimson.

There was likelihood of truth in this for Mars is a place of abiding cold and Arctic conditions, and, strangely enough, one does see in the remote hills side of the Arctic a crimson tinge, from time to time, in the snow faces as though the hills bled, and the blood had stained the whitened surface.

The reason for this is that certain minute organisms have their being in the snow and are evidenced by a crimson stain that adds a grim touch of colour amidst a world of white.

A few years ago Spitzbergen was a land only visited by a few Russian and Norwegian Whalers and sealing vessels.

The discovery of coal, and the fact that for a matter of three months it was possible to get it away on a sea that was in summer released from its icy bond, has brought about an inevitable change, but when one talks about developing the Arctic or Antarctic, one must never forget, that the kindly influence of the Gulf Stream is a local thing confined in a great measure to the Western Coast of Spitzbergen—On the east and away to North East Land are the ice-bound and inhospitable regions of silence.

Mining has but little terror in the way of faulty roofs or floods, for, beneath a surface that may, for an all brief time, receive the light of the sun, is a land of eternal frost going deep down as ice-bound silt hundreds of feet.

You look up on the roof of the galleries, and see, ghost-like and glistening the solid ice faintly tinged with silt.

The coal is often plainly marked with leaf and bark of trees and vegetation that flourished at a time when the world was emerging from its early stages of heat, but how it came into being is a matter for a geological lecture and may not intrude in this.

Shackleton made one voyage during the War to Spitzbergen, with the idea of claiming the land for Britain, but its importance then was overshadowed by the time, and we let slip these all-important coal fields, as few realised the fact, that, for a few weeks every year coal could be shipped away, and, with modern appliances, it could be worked throughout the year, as the temperature is more or less constant underground.

In latitude 76° north in August the thermometer registers from about 28° to 41° fahrenheit but underground, I found the average temperature was about 32° and the coal areas are frozen to a depth of at least a thousand feet and, at 800 feet you get ten degrees of frost, a temperature which does not vary at this depth during summer or winter.

Boring is difficult, as the holes freeze up solid and hot water is necessary, coupled with constant work to keep them open.

Labour on the mines is Norwegian and is paid at the rate of thirty shillings a week with supplies and housing.

For four months there is no daylight at all and for about two only a twilight at noon, and the darkness is intense.

For some reason Esquimos have never settled in Spitzbergen or the eastward islands of Franz Joseph Land and it would be interesting to know if records exist that they ever came so far east.

In a like manner, animal life is scarce and for the reason we must go back to what might be called the political status of Spitzbergen.

From the time the Islands were first seen by Barents in 1596 until last year, the land was under no control.

The Dutch and British claimed it respectively, principally on account of the fishing, but in 300 years the Russians, Swedes, and Danes also came to that land.

There was a long series of years, over which all these nations came into conflict over the fishing areas, first one and then the other claiming the land.

They were rather pitiful claims based so often on an ignorance of geography, some claiming it as part of Greenland, others as a part of Franz Joseph Land.

All this may be found written down in various Encyclopædias, but I would point out that the Chartered Company of this eastern land we live in had its counterpart in those northern wastes.

Those were indeed the days of glorious commercial adventures very different from the sleek, comfortable commercial atmosphere of our time.

I opened my lecture with the *statement*, there was no indication of tragedy in the voyage and yet, ever, there seems to me, even on a well found ship, loom the tragedy of the past, or the possible tragedy of the future in the Arctic.

Up that chill lane of open water of the Gulf Stream, came one sailing ship after another, manned by a rather brutal, fierce and fine race of men. One is apt to regard Spitzbergen as a recently exploited arctic waste, but as I take you ever north on my journey, my last description of the most northerly point on the west coast is a multitude of graves where British and Dutch sleep their last sleep in that remote corner of an ever white world.

One can imagine them, desperately sailing ever north until shut in by ice with only a few weeks of open sea to get out again, and then in some quiet Northern Bay, finding themselves forestalled by the whaling or sealing sloops of some other nation.

Then in that world of desolate waste did these commercial adventurers of a glorious age, abandon fishing for fighting and, to-day, the cairns of the dead litter the bay shores in the north-west region.

Great boulders mark their last resting place because it was impossible to break up the frozen ground to accommodate those valiant bodies.

The history of arctic and antarctic must always be a tragic history. The sea, even by the aid of the friendly Gulf Stream, only remains open for a few weeks. Hence up to the last year or so, fishing, sealing, and whaling, in a land under no man's laws, but where the bold adventurers in such exploits came in conflict, were carried out with frantic haste, with ever the winter of continual darkness looming ahead. Thus the element of brutality came in. It is easy to judge at this distance, but towards the end of summer, with an ever darkening sky and slowly closing sea, against time these competitive people killed recklessly, remorsely and savagely.

Take the seal; born a land animal, with a good brain, it is forced to sea for a living. They have almost human traits on land, for they are one of the few species that cry, and whose tears roll down their grotesque faces after the manner of human beings.

The mothers can detect their own young ones by their cry among hundreds.

Even their courtship is rather human, the male laboriously waddles up to sea shore, each taking a place about 10 feet square, fighting for it, if necessary, then follow the females, whom the males entice to their patch, often bullying them to the place.

Then begins the eternal triangle, hexagon, or octohedron, depending upon the attractiveness of the female. As humans, several will covet the same female, and then ensues a battle royal, which continues till the last female is brought ashore.

The fighting is a series of bites and once those jaws close, they never re-open till they have torn the enclosed flesh away.

The first step of the seal hunter is to kill those nearest the shore, so that the dead form a barrier to prevent those living inland from escaping. It is a dreadful business. A seal's eyes are of a hard formation, and the blow over the head starts these eyes out of their socket, there is a thud of the blow and the pitiful human sob of the dying.

Because the loss has been so great in the arctic of seals, Britain, Japan, and the U.S.A., have a close time for 15 years, but it expires next year.

When you next see a seal skin coat recollect that if it can be torn off a still living seal, it is rather better commercially than one taken from a dead one.

Seals, during the last few years, have been killed by the million where mankind fails—the shark waits in the South and the Polar bear in the North.

Much the same fate is meted out to the walrus.

Where Bays are ice-covered seals lie often on the cold surface but on the approach of the hunter they dive down a blowhole which is always kept open.

It would be interesting to know how it is prevented from freezing up, and it appears the seals must take turns at jumping up and down to keep breaking the ice at this point.

That beautiful animal, the white fox, is also trapped or poisoned. Some time ago, so great was the wiping out of these animals, that the Norwegian Government forbade the sale of strychnine except for medical purposes.

This animal's coat, by that peculiar law of nature, changes from a grey in summer, to a dead white in winter.

The reindeer is a scarce animal that may have migrated over the ice from Lapland or Franz Joseph Land. In spite of its journey across the frozen sea, there is no record of a reindeer ever being marooned on an ice floe, like all animals in the arctic it has an unfailing sense of direction and safety.

The Esquimo dogs are to be found principally at Green Harbour, where they have been utilised for the prospecting exploration parties. These dogs are all imported, and it is strange to see them on a bitterly cold day in summer, panting with the heat and plunging into the nearly icy water in order to keep themselves cool.

After all, the Esquimo dog is merely a domesticated wolf and, even to-day, the strain is improved by introducing the wild wolf into the pack.

Although that pitiful comedian of the Antarctic, the penguin, is absent, the quaint-looking puffin takes its place.

In many cases, birds breed a considerable distance from the shore, and yet so urgent is the time for their departure south, that the young, that are incapable of flying, find their way over boulders and stones to the water's edge there to feed and only a little while after, learn to fly and driven by a remorseless law of nature, make their way often thousands of miles south. The same pitiful struggle to keep eggs against theft or weather on precarious ledges, holds good here as with the penguin, birds will sit on a stone having lost their eggs.

Should one go near their pitifully inadequate nests, and the birds be driven away, they will return close feigning injury going through all kinds of weird evolutions in the hope of distracting your attention.

In the brooding silence of the arctic, the cry of a bird becomes a voice, it is the only sound of a living thing and, as you go north to the pack, this last sound dies away, and leaves one to the silence of the region round the pole.

Whales also have been depleted much off the Spitzbergen coast. Indeed, for all life, the Gulf Stream has proved a highway of sorrow, since the first ships sailed north of 70°.

Life in the far north fights bitterly and dies hard, there is the blood red microscopic alga, one of the lowest forms of life to which reference has already been made and at the last comes the small nematode worm.

Science has shown us how these tiny creatures, even in the act of laying their eggs, have been overtaken by the winter, and frozen in to a temperature of 45 degrees of frost and have remained frozen until the following year, and, then as if nothing had happened, continued the important (to them) business of egg-laying as if there had not been a moment's cessation. So one moves beyond land now slowly and laboriously as ice ever increases.

A record of a pioneer of Arctic air travel is in the hut left by Andree, of the Wellman Expedition, at the base of his balloon expedition to the pole nearly thirty years ago. One enters that evidence of tangible endeavour as one would a shrine, as from this hut he went out to his unknown death.

Food left years before is as fresh as the day it was placed there, and fur shoes laid beside the bunk still wait for an owner that has never returned.

It is not generally appreciated how much Spitzbergen has already played its part in Arctic Aerial travel, Andree's balloon has been followed by Amundson, but the Oxford Expedition preceded the latter.

Nevertheless, I doubt whether over everchanging pack of ice and the rugged ground of lands near the pole, whether the aeroplane of to-day will ever be more than a hindrance to polar work.

True, one can travel hundreds of miles at a high speed, and in comparative comfort, but the shadow of death lies over every forced landing.

The first approach of the pack is a ray of light across the horizon like a searchlight shining by day. This is the ice blink which indicated the entirely frozen sea beyond, and in that we come to a world as indeed the whole of this must eventually be.

Even here, mixed in the white at about sea level is a thin brown streak, interesting because that again is one of the lowest forms of life common to Arctic and Antarctic.

It is a strange thought, that when this world cools and dies, its last life will be these tiny organisms that are so mean and infinitesimal to us to-day and, yet, will endure after all mankind has passed away.

The icebergs of Spitzbergen do not compare in size with those of Greenland, due partially to the immediate influences of the Gulf Stream but also to the geographical formation of the country.

The surface of Spitzbergen is much broken and the glacier heads from which the icebergs start their last journey are shallower than those on the Greenland side, which may tower up 500 feet above sea level.

One of the most remarkable features of Arctic life is the speed at which the weather changes, one hour you will be in a fairy land of scintillating and sparkling ice with a blue sky of a shade seen nowhere but at the poles, and then, its beauty is wiped out as a sponge is passed over a slate, and a bitter snow-laden breeze blows and dark greyness settles over the land. The icepack groans ominously and long stretches break adrift. I have seen a wall of ice 40 miles or so in length come creeping rapidly over the sea, and, in many such changes has come tragedy to ships engaged in polar work. Even in August we had heavy snowfalls north of 80°.

It is an accepted, yet nevertheless peculiar, fact that as sea water freezes it leaves all, or almost all, of its salt behind and the ice itself, if quite good, melted for drinking purposes.

The Aurora Borealis is not clearly visible, as a rule, in the summer, though in autumn, it must appear the most wonderful curtain of the universe hung across a gloomy sky.

One can imagine the darkened heavens which crumple up into long columns of light like a curtain and then, these in turn gradually transform themselves into giant many-coloured streamers, just as though God himself waved a many-coloured banner from the remote universe and a corner of this banner, a thing of superb colouring and of glorious immensity, hung in our world.

If you imagine a vast flag of silvery white, edged with carmine, forming in the heavens, fluttering across the sky with no consciousness of termination at its zenith, but fading into the infinite, you get some idea of this most wonderful phenomenon.

There it hangs in the heavens, the wonder of the common man, the puzzle of all scientists, and the visible emblem of the mystery of the universe.

The earth is to a certain extent a magnet with north and south poles, and one theory is that electrons from the sun moving across space ultimately enter the outer fringes of our atmosphere where they make the molecules of the gases light up.

I am inclined to believe, however, that the fact that the Aurora or Northern and Southern lights appearing as they do, more at the poles than on the equator, merely means that, as the world revolves on an axis passing through the poles, the light of the sun has in a sense no background at these points, but shines through the atmosphere lighting it up owing to the slower speed of its surface at this point as compared to the atmosphere in the neighbourhood of the equator.

One may be inclined to ask why it is that Spitzbergen readily reached as it is by the Gulf Stream on the Western Side, has not been made use of as a base for expeditions to the pole, and the reason lies in the fact that in summer the north of Spitzbergen may be separate from the park whereas, at a point like Cape Columbia in the north of Greenland from where Peary started, the main base could be on a mainland which, however, was never cut off from the pack and, this more than compensated for the difficult and ice-bound journey through the Davis Strait and Baffins Bay.

The danger of approaching the north pole on the pack, is that the surface is in a constant state of change. One has only to trace the movement or drift of a boat like the *Fram* in 1896 to see how far-reaching is the movement of the ice and how precarious the journey may be.

The reason Spitzbergen has always been a favourite Air Base is, of course, due to the fact it is the only point in north or south latitudes where one can sail up to 80° on a sea comparatively free from ice and in flying, the possible stretches of open water or loose pack between the most northern point and the true pack do not constitute an opposition as they would against sledging.

One of the most extraordinary features about Spitzbergen is the fact that on its western side you can follow a long line of ships making an almost continuous summer passage since 1596, while on the other, only a few miles comparatively, the coast line is uncharted and practically unknown.

So one comes 580 miles from the pole to the last phase of the story I have set out to tell—the ice pack, white and ominous to the sky line, west, north and east and when you realise that it is not a solid immovable body, but a slow-moving drifting mass, that cracks, opens and writhes to the pole itself, with constant uncertainty of its surface, some slight idea of the difficulty and the work of years in attaining the pole is evident.

Some lines I wrote while in the Arctic summarise one's impression of the region and this journey,

"Bitter the breeze that blows from north
From north of Seventy-one
It can be Hell in summer time
When never sets the Sun,

We creep a dreary weary round
Past North Cape to the West
Yet never shall we ever see
The islands of the blest.
Rough and rugged snowclad hills,
As though from the pole cap hurled,
Like derelict walls of a building old
The Cathedral of the World.

But when it comes to Winter time
To the north of Seventy-one
Pray for us ye below the Line
For we'll never see the Sun.
Day after day, week after week,
Sleet—hail and fog—and snow
Just read the Log and sound along
And trust that right we go.
Bleak and bitter—and God! how dark
The never-ending night
And straining eyes that strive to see
Life—in a beacon light.

A world of molten rock that burned
A million years ago,
Bone white dried and ghastly charred
And covered all with snow
Just plunged into the ocean sea
By the hand that whirls the world,
To rise in a host of jagged peaks
Up by the same hand hurled.
Fringed all in with distant bergs,
Locked all in with dread
With here and there open icy sea
A realm, a world,—just dead.

For ye can come in your liner great
Far up to Seventy-one
Ten thousand tons in summertime
To our winter's less than one,

GS 1430

Decks high above an ice-cold sea
No plimsol down to half,
Come ye here in winter time
And God: would you then laugh,
Decks awash with icy sea
Snowclad from hatch to nest
Go haste ye South in your fine hotel
For here ye'll pray for rest.

Yet ye need not pray for rest my friends
When you're south of Seventy-one
But pray for those ye leave behind
Whose toil is never done,
Yet your prayers will do but little good.
For ye'll never understand
Enough to pray as ye should pray
To help us north of land,
Our requiem be the wind that blows
Our faith the years we spend
On the rim of the world in solitude
Where the winters never end.[1]

C. A. JOHN HENDRY

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[1] Lecture delivered at the Y.M.C.A., Chowringhee Road, Calcutta, November 2, 1925.

ECHOES

We have been lovers in ages gone,
You and I.
Fragmentary gleams of memory,
Like pin points of light,
Filter down the cycled chain,
From far-off shrouded yester-years,
Held secret in some dim obsidian cave.
To-day, we meet as friends,
And stumble through the Masque of life.
And yet,—within the inmost deeps of me,
There thrills and echo, like a distant bell,
Chiming a haunted half-remembered theme.
I wonder if you hear it too,
When you gaze at me with sombre eyes,
And lips that smile in platitudinous greeting?

LILY STRICKLAND-ANDERSON

GREAT AND SMALL

The world's sublimest faith
Is built up in a heart,
Which is a speck of land
With ocean-waves begirt.

The greatest hopes of life
Are set upon a height,
A moment's red revolt
Would sweep them out of sight.

My deep and timeless love
Could round whole worlds entwine—
It hangs from these frail arms
That tremblingly seek thine.

The late-born flowery speech
That swears and charms and rails,
Is stranded on death's pale shore
And in a moment fails.

NALINIMOHON CHATTERJEE

THEORY OF SPHOṬA

The Hindu grammarians are credited with having for the first time enunciated the doctrine of Sphoṭa which forms one of the outstanding features of Sanskrit grammar. It is at once the essence and result of Indian speculations on grammar ; it embodies the careful ingenuity and keen-sightedness on the part of native grammarians, and ultimately proves by drawing identity between Sphoṭa and Brahman that शब्दतत्त्व and ब्रह्मतत्त्व are only different in names but essentially convertible with each other. The grammarians have, however, carried this theory to such an extent and traced the final germ of speech to so subtle an element as to place the dissertations on words more or less upon a metaphysical level.

The history of Sphoṭa, judging from the height of contemplation it discloses, is calculated to reveal a spiritual vision that penetrates unobstructed into the very nature of things, and shows a peculiar religious tendency which seeks to explain all phenomena as emanating from something divine. The original conception of Sphoṭa goes back to the most creative period of Indian thought, we mean the Vedic, when Vāk was considered to be a manifestation of all-pervading Brahman[1]; Praṇava regarded as the ultimate germ of all speech-Sounds and Śabda viewed as an imperishable and potential factor in the creation of the world. Philosophy, so to speak, begins with concrete objects of thoughts and finally arrives at more and more nice abstraction. The grammarians, in the same way, started with the physical analysis of words and conceived sound as what clothes itself with letters ; they proceeded still further and on minute examination of internal phenomena, grasped the remotest form of speech, *viz.* Sphoṭa, that is manifested by sound, eternally existent, indivisible into parts and really expressive of sense.[1]

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[1] ब्रह्मैवेत्यक्षरं प्राहुस्तस्मै पूर्णात्मने नमः ॥ Vai. bhūṣaṇa Kār. 72, and "निष्कर्षे तु ब्रह्मैव स्फोटः ।"

History.

It is, however, difficult to ascertain as to when and with whom this theory had first originated. History does not definitely mention the name of any particular philosopher so far as the authorship of this theory is concerned; all that we know about its history is that this theory received a strenuous support at the hands of grammarians, while almost every system of Hindu philosophy had attacked it mercilessly and rejected it as being absurd and inconsistent. We do not, however, definitely know of any grammarian who may be said to have formulated this doctrine, nor do we find any specific mention of Sphoṭa in the aphorisms of grammar. We only repeat that our knowledge is not permitted to proceed beyond the limit that the theory of Sphoṭa found much favour with the grammarians who seem to have carried it to such an extent as to finally inter-weave Sphoṭa with ब्रह्मतत्त्व, thus raising the artificial character of grammatical speculations to the height of theological discourses. But this is not sufficient reason why we should take this theory as one of grammatical origin. On the other hand, it might be maintained with greater degree of certainty on the evidence afforded by some other popular theories of unknown origin, that the native grammarians had already found the nucleus of the theory in existence in some form or other; they interpreted it consistently with their views and finally made it their own by giving it a distinctly grammatical stamp. What the grammarians have practically done with regard to this theory is that they popularised it with all earnestness and ultimately incorporated it into their systems as a tenet of fundamental importance. Similar is the original history of some of the popular doctrines of Hindu philosophy. The main doctrines of the Sāṃkhya school, for instance, seem to have been transmitted through generations as a common heritage of man and current as a distinct process of thought long before they were systematised by Kapila or Pañcaśikha. In this process of tracing the origin of old doctrines we may be allowed to seek for some clue as to why the Vedas are emphatically declared by orthodox teachers as not of human origin; and why it is authoritatively laid down that the Seers who are mentioned by names in the Vedic hymns are far from being the real authors (स्मर्त्तारोऽस्य न कारका:).[1]

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[1] ध्वनिव्यङ्ग्यः, नित्यः, अक्रमः, वाचकः; etc.

Praṇava.

To give a clear idea of Sphoṭa we find it necessary to start with *Praṇava.* It has repeatedly been stated in the Vedic literature that the mystic syllable, *i.e.*, *Praṇava*, represents the primordial speech-sound wherefrom all forms of Vāk are supposed to have been originated. This sacred combination of three particles (अ, उ, म) which is still uttered with the utmost reverence and regarded as a positive emblem of supreme God is said to have flashed forth into the heart of Brahman while he was absorbed in deep meditation. *Praṇava* unfolded itself in the form of '*Gāyatrī*,' which again gave birth to the three Vedas—this is the way how cosmic world came into existence from so subtle an entity. When we present this orthodox view in all its bareness and accordingly maintain that the entire world of Vāk has *Praṇava* as its ultimate source, we should crave the indulgence of modern critics who are likely to discard it as an unscientific and irrational theory. The Suta-Saṃhitā[2] divides *Praṇava* into two kinds, namely, *Para* and *Apara.* The former is the same as Brahman, while the latter is identified with Śabda. It must be admitted at the very outset that in dealing with so mysterious a thing as *Praṇava* and showing the orthodox belief in the potency of Śabda we are really driven to a land that lies far beyond the range of common experience. *Praṇava* has two more aspects—external and internal—corresponding to those of Sphoṭa. Vācaspati[1] in his gloss under the aphorism "विशोका वा ज्योतिष्मती" has attempted to show the internal aspect of Sphoṭa. "There is a lotus, it is said, having eight petals that resides in the region between heart and abdomen; the three constituents of *Praṇava* represent in the lotus the solar, lunar and fire regions respectively. Above it, as the Brahmavādins are only allowed to perceive, rests the "Brahma-Nāda" assuming the form of 'अर्धमात्रा'." This "अर्धमात्रा" (capable of being perceived only by Yogins) which represents the "Turīya" or the fourth part of *Praṇava* that resides in the heart of all beings, is called "Nāda-Sphoṭa." It is emphatically laid down that the consummation of Yoga lies in the positive realisation of this absolute entity. Reference is made to this "Nāda" in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa[2] where it is identified with Śakti or supreme potency that exists from eternity and is not capable of being uttered by vocal organs. The history of Hindu "Trinity of gods" seems to have a close connection with the theory of *Praṇava*, for the three elements (अ, उ, म) constituting the *Praṇava* are popularly believed to represent the three principal Hindu deities, *viz.*, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Now it is almost safe to assert without any contention that Sphoṭa, taken as an imperishable unit of Vāk (usually manifested by sound) which finally accounts for the evolution of speech, is analogous with "*Praṇava*"; or, to take a still more orthodox view, it is the same as *Praṇava*. Moreover, expressions like "ओंकार एव सर्वावाक्" and "स हि सर्वशब्दप्रकृतिः" which are, strictly speaking, applicable to Sphoṭa also, serve to confirm our belief so far as the identity between *Praṇava* and Sphoṭa is concerned. The analogy is so striking that Nāgeśa does not hesitate to compare Sphoṭa with the internal phase of *Praṇava* " स चाय स्फोटः आन्तर प्रणवरूप एव " (*Laghumañjuṣā*, p. 389).

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[1] "स्वयम्भूरेष: भगवान् वेदोगीत: सनातन:। शिवाद्यान्ऋषिपर्यन्ता स्मर्तारोऽस्य न कारका:—
Mahābhāgavata Purāṇam.

[2] "पर: परतरं ब्रह्म ज्ञानानन्दादिलक्षणम्। प्रकर्षेण नवं यस्मात् परंब्रह्म स्वभावत:॥ अपर: प्रणव: साक्षात् शब्दरूप: सुनिर्मल:। प्रकर्षेण नवत्वस्य हेतुत्वात् प्रणव: स्मृत:" ॥

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[1] उदरोरसोर्मध्येऽधोमुखमष्टदलं पद्मं तद्रेचकप्राणायामेनोर्द्ध्वमुखं कृत्वा तत्रालम्बने चित्तं धारयेदित्यादि।
Yoga Sūtra—Vācaspati on the Bhāṣya. 1. 36.

[2] "अर्धमात्रा स्थिता नित्या यानुच्चार्यविशेषतः ।" 1.

In the Upaniṣads, however, we miss the term Sphoṭa in its grammatical significance, but we frequently meet with the words *Praṇava* and *Akṣara* as expressive of Brahman; consequently, the specific term *Sphoṭa*, as understood by the grammarians, seems to have acquired a technical meaning at a later period when grammatical speculations began more and more to obtain philosophical treatment and ultimately encroached on the domain of pure metaphysics. The Seers of the Upaniṣads have already declared in unmistakable terms that Brahman is reducible to *Praṇava*, or *Praṇava* is a living symbol of Supreme Being,[1] and accordingly they have advocated the worship of *Praṇava* as a form of spiritual practice that leads to a state of perpetual bliss. So much sanctity and reverence were accorded to *Praṇava* and its potency and spiritual character eulogised in such a manner that *Praṇava* came to be regarded as Brahman itself. What a unique place *Praṇava* occupied in the spiritual thought of India is evident from the numerous Vedic passages and from the traditions that have gathered round it from the Vedic times. In the Yoga system of Patañjali *Praṇava* is not only held as what positively denotes Supreme Being "तस्यवाचकः प्रणवः" but repeated utterance of *Praṇava* is also suggested as an instrument for attaining concentration of mind. We may thus adduce abundant evidence in defence of the sacred character of *Praṇava*. All scriptural passages, specially the Vedic hymns, begin, as a rule, with this sacred particle. The natural outcome of such speculations exalting *Praṇava* to divinity accounts, if we are allowed to hold, for the evolution of the theory of 'शब्दब्रह्म' which is so conspicuously dealt with by the reputed author of the Vākyapadīya. We have spoken at great length about the unique

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[1] ओमित्येतदक्षरमुद्गीथमुपासीत। Chānd 1.

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spiritual aspect of *Praṇava* with a view to prepare the ground for the belief that Sphoṭa, like *Praṇava*, is ultimately convertible with Brahman.[1]

The four forms of Vāk denominated as 'Parā,' 'Paśyantī,' 'Madhyamā' and 'Vaikharī' may be viewed as showing the different stages through which Sphoṭa (Nāda-Vindu) receives manifestation. Both Parā and Paśyantī are too subtle and delicate to be comprehended by sense-organs, the former residing in the Mulādhāra[2] in the shape of motionless "Vindu," and the latter coming up to the navel region pushed by the internal wind. Of the four forms it is Madhyamā that indicates Sphoṭa. All these are, however, more or less mysterious. The popular form, *viz*., Vaikharī is what is uttered by vocal organs and is capable of being heard by others. It is further[3] held that Nāda is simultaneously produced by Madhyamā and Vaikharī, but there is considerable difference between the two. We may have some cognition of Nāda as produced by Madhyamā either at the time of **जप**[4] or when ears are shut up. What is of vital importance is that this form of Śabda, as is manifested by "**मध्यमानाद**," is what we precisely call "Sphoṭa"; it symbolises Brahman and has eternal existence. Sphoṭa is further said to be essentially one and without divisions. These are, in short, the salient characteristics of Sphoṭa. According to this theory, however, it is one and the same indivisible Sphoṭa that is represented by **वर्ण**, **पद** and **वाक्य** just as one and the same face[5] appears to be long and round when seen through stone, sword and looking-glass, or as a piece of marble stone taking reflection from red or blue flowers seems to be either red or blue.

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[1] अनादिनिधनं ब्रह्म शब्दतत्त्वं यदक्षरम्—Vākya-padīya Kār. 1. "ब्रह्मेदं शब्दनिर्माणं शब्दशक्तिनिबन्धनम्।" "निष्कर्षंतु ब्रह्मैव स्फोटः"—Vaiyā-bhūṣaṇa. Under Kār. 72.

[2] परा वाङ्मूलचक्रस्था पश्यन्तीनाभिसंस्थिता। हृदिस्था मध्यमा ज्ञेया वैखरी कण्ठदेशगा।

[3] युगपदेव मध्यमावैखरीभ्यां नाद उत्पद्यते—Mañjūṣā.

[4] मध्यमानादश्च कर्णपिधाने जपादौ च सूक्ष्मतरवायुव्यङ्ग्यः—Mañjūṣā.

[5] यथा च मुखे मणिकृपाणदर्पणव्यञ्जकोपाधिवशात् दैर्घ्यवर्तुलत्वादिभानं तद्वत्।

The distinction between "Ka" and "Ga"[1] is not practically due to the diversity of Sphoṭa but points to the peculiarities of sounds that serve to manifest Sphoṭa. It is to prove both the unity and indivisibility of Sphoṭa that it is compared to the "Sky" and "Consciousness" which, though one and admit of no fractions, are supposed to have such attributive difference as घटाकाश, महाकाश and जीव, ईश्वर, etc., respectively. Those who take पद and वाक्य to be similarly indivisible units express their views in the following way[2]: "Just as letters are devoid of parts, so no letters are comprehended in *Padas* as their constituent elements." Similarly, it is not strictly correct to take words separately from a sentence. To those who advocate the divisibility[3] of both पद and वाक्य, it is the last letter that indicates Sphoṭa, each preceding letter being only necessary for a cognition of the intended sense.

In view of the difference between Madhyamā and Vaikharī, we may divide sound into two kinds,[4] namely, natural or everlasting (inexhaustible) and unnatural or momentary. It is that natural sound only, which is generated by Madhyamā, that suggests Sphoṭa; the unnatural sound is so called because it takes its rise from the former and undergoes an amount of modifications in the shape of long and short sound. Sphoṭa, being essentially one and without any modification, is not at all effected either by prolongation or quick utterance of sound which practically refer to विकृतध्वनि. Considering Sphoṭa to be permanent as an internal phenomenon, the grammarians have shown but scant regard to the logical view that advocates the momentary character of Śabda. The existence of a permanent form of Śabda, as represented by Sphoṭa as such, proved a dubious problem, so much so that it merited no support but adverse criticisms from all leading systems of Hindu philosophy. While they speak of production and destruction of Śabda, the Naiyāyikas seem to have 'कार्यशब्द' (as opposed to नित्यशब्द *viz.*, Sphoṭa) in their mind. They refused to take a more psychological view of Śabda apart from what appeared to be a matter-of-fact one, and consequently lost sight of those internal operations that are associated with the evolution of sound, which goes to prove the existence of a permanent source of sound (Sphoṭa). Another point which is none the less important in this connection is that Sphoṭa alone, as is evident from its derivative meaning "स्फुटत्यर्थोऽस्मादिति स्फोटः" is really associated with the expressiveness of sense 'वाचकतास्फोटैकनिष्ठा.' It is for the sake of convenience and popular practice that we assign meanings to Śabdas, but a close examination of both internal and external facts would show that Sphoṭa is finally the significant element of speech.

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[1] व्यञ्जकध्वनिगतं कत्व-गत्वादिकं स्फोटे भासते।

[2] पदे न वर्णा विद्यन्ते वर्णेष्ववयवा इव। वाक्यात् पदानामत्यन्तं प्रविवेको न कश्चन।

Vākyapadīya, 1. 77.

[3] पदवाक्ययोस्तु सखण्डत्वपक्षे अन्तिमवर्णव्यङ्ग्य स्फोट एक एव। पूर्वपूर्ववर्णास्तु तात्पर्यग्राहकाः।

Mañjūṣā.

[4] ध्वनिस्तु द्विविधः। प्राकृतो वैकृतश्च। "स्फोटस्य ग्रहणे हेतुः प्राकृतो ध्वनिरिष्यते। वृत्तिभेदे निमित्तत्वं वैकृतः प्रतिपद्यते"—Vākyapadīya, 1. 77.

As to the reason why Sphoṭa is said to be one that does not admit of any division into parts, we should frankly say that the ultimate nature of Sphoṭa, so far as it is brought to our comprehension by sound, letters and combination of words, seems to be undifferentiated; physical structure of words only differs by virtue of 'वैकृतध्वनि' but the very life of Śabda, or, more clearly, the original Nāda, is absolutely one and practically changeless. What we really mean is that, though the words "Gauḥ" differs from the word "Ghaṭaḥ" both in physical and psychological aspects, the ultimate germ giving rise to such sound is virtually one and the same. Sphoṭa being one and permanent, Bhartṛhari rightly observes that such difference is not at all essential, as it is caused by sound only. The apparent difference[1] of words is thus due to that of sound whereby Sphoṭa is indicated. Sphoṭa is practically one; it is only the indicator of Sphoṭa, *viz.*, sound that differs.

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[1] स्फोटे व्यञ्जकध्वनिगतकत्वादिभानात् ककारोऽयम् इत्यौपाधिको भेदव्यवहारः—Mañjūṣa.

It is evident from what we have noticed above that it is difficult to form a definite idea of Sphoṭa without proper investigation of internal phenomena connected with the evolution of sound; we acknowledge the existence of such a mystic element beyond sound only through the instrumentality of external sound that serves to indicate Sphoṭa in a subconscious state, but we are never allowed to demonstrate its existence with greater degree of vividness. There is, however, no doubt that the internal operations, as referred to above, concerning the materialisation of thought into sound, are what actually take place, as it can hardly be denied that in the course of such translation something that lies dormant within (अव्यक्त) gets itself manifested by degrees while passing from the innermost part of the body to the vocal apparatus. The internal wind which plays so important a part in the transformation of consciousness into sound has already been alluded to in connection with the psychological aspects of language.

Patañjali on Sphoṭa.

In opposition to the Naiyāyika standpoint, according to which Śabda is momentary and consequently liable to both production and destruction, Patañjali has strongly supported the permanent character of Śabda. It is curious to note that the attributives whereby he usually characterises Śabda, or more properly Sphoṭa, are those that are often ascribed to Brahman. There is convincing evidence that Patañjali, as a representative grammarian, had early realised the distinction between two kinds of Śabda, namely, created and permanent (नित्यः कार्यश्च) and it is explicitly with reference to Sphoṭa or permanent word-form that he used such expressions[1] as नित्यः and कूटस्थः. In connection with the exposition of class-theory of Sphoṭa, as opposed to the individualistic one, he has given us some glimpse into the salient features of Sphoṭa. " Sphoṭa or Śabda *par excellence* is, maintains Patañjali,[1] what is perceived by auditory organs, comprehended by intellect, manifested by sound and pertains to ether." This definition, if we are allowed to style it as such, though concise and garbed in highly philosophical terms, seems to be impregnated with deep significance, and purports to bring out the entire meaning of Sphoṭa. Having regard to the importance of making a thorough study of Sphoṭa, we think it worth while to take up the expressions of the Bhāṣya one by one and explain them in the light of Kaiyaṭa and Nāgeśa. " Perceptible by the sense of hearing " is used to indicate that श्रोत्र or organ of hearing is only a fraction of ether (कर्णशष्कुल्यवच्छिन्नं नभ एव श्रोत्रम्) wherein Śabda or sound is directly perceived. Both Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems have taken Śabda to be a positive quality of ether (शब्दोऽम्बरगुणः श्रोत्रग्राह्यः, etc., Praśastapāda Bhāṣya). Sound[2] which has its origin in the vibrations of ether (as a law of nature) is capable of being perceived only by the organs composed of the same element. Patañjali seems to have an accurate knowledge of the scientific fact in regard to the production of sound. The expression " comprehended by intellect " offers an explanation as to how words, though consisting of letters that are liable to disappear as soon as they are uttered, are competent to express the intended senses, as if they were indivisible units. The answer is the same as suggested by the Naiyāyikas.[3] It is practically from the last letter that the cognition of the entire word is derived together with the impressions produced by the preceding letters. It is evidently an intellectual operation which enables us to retain the recollection of entire structure of word even when we hear the last letter alone. " Manifested by sound " implies that Sphoṭa, though permanent, is not always comprehensible, but comes under cognition only when vocal organs are engaged in operation for its manifestation. Nāgeśā states expressly that the oneness of ether implies similar oneness in regard to Śabda or Sphoṭa. We speak of priority and posteriority in respect of Śabda just in the same way as we are apt to say 'घटाकाश' and 'मठाकाश' having regard only to the difference of attributes. Of both ether and Sphoṭa the so-called distinctness is only due to their different attributes (उपाधि). The singular number in "शब्द" is intended, as Nāgeśa points out,.to indicate both the unity and indivisibility (एकत्वमखण्डत्वम्) of Sphoṭa.

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[1] नित्येषु च शब्देषु कूटस्थैरविचालिभिर्वर्णैर्भवितव्यमनपायोपजनविकारिभिः ।

Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I, p. 18.

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[1] श्रोत्रोपलब्धिर्बुद्धिनिर्ग्राह्यः प्रयोगेणाभिज्वलितः आकाशदेशः शब्दः ।—Vol. I. 1. 1. 2. p. 18.

[2] आकाशप्रदेशविशेषस्य श्रोत्रत्वात्...आकाशदेशत्वं शब्दस्यावश्यमभ्युपेयम् ।—Kaiyaṭa, 1, p. 2.

[3] पूर्वपूर्वध्वन्युत्पादिताभिव्यक्तिजनितसंस्कारपरम्परापरिपाकान्त्यबुद्धिनिर्ग्राह्य इत्यर्थः ।—Kaiyaṭa.

Unity, indivisibility and eternality of Sphoṭa

It is quite evident from what he has said of Sphoṭa that Patañjali recognised three prominent characteristics of Sphoṭa, *viz.*, unity (एकत्व), indivisibility (अखण्डत्व) and eternality (नित्यत्व). In considering the question of time (as is required for the utterance of a word) he rightly observes that it is sound that seems to be either long or short, but what is manifested by sound, *i.e.*, Sphoṭa, is not at all affected by variations of sound. He takes the instance of a drum and continues that sounds that are produced by beat of drum [1] are not of equal velocity, some travelling 20 yds. and some 30 yds. and so on. The difference between sound and Sphoṭa which has proved so difficult a problem to others—is clearly brought to light by Patañjali when he declares in unmistakable terms that "Sphoṭa" represents what is virtually Śabda, whereas sound is only a quality, that is to say, it serves to manifest Sphoṭa. The relation is, therefore, one of "indicator and indicated" (व्यञ्जक+व्यङ्ग्य). He further elucidates the point that Śabda has two aspects—sound and Sphoṭa; it is sound alone that is usually perceived and appears to be either long or short as the case may be, while Sphoṭa remains entirely unchanged.

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[1] एवं तर्हि स्फोटः शब्दो ध्वनिः शब्दगुणः। कथम्? भेर्याघातवत्। भेरीमाहत्य कश्चिद्विंशतिपदानि-गच्छति। स्फोटस्तावानेव ध्वनिकृतावृद्धिः। "ध्वनिः स्फोटश्च शब्दानां ध्वनिस्तु खलु लक्ष्यते।—Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I, p. 181.

The foregoing observations will serve to show that Sphoṭa, though strictly one and indivisible, is capable of being classified as internal and external (वाह्य and आभ्यन्तर).[1] So far as the innate expressiveness of sense (वाचकत्व) is concerned, it is the internal form of Sphoṭa (that lies within and is manifested by sound) that is really significant, whereas external Sphoṭa, as is comprehended by our hearing organs, has no such intimate relation with meanings. In all our linguistic enquiries we engage ourselves more or less in the investigation of external aspects of language, but we take very little notice of the internal phenomenon which forms the very life of language; we assign meanings to sound, as we fail to proceed further to grasp the ultimate reservoir of sound that is really associated with the significance. It requires only a moment's consideration to realise that sounds or vocalised thoughts are not only products of the operation of vocal organs but have their origin in certain ethereal region of human body which does not vary, though the modulations of voice are always different from one another. The grammarians have, however, sought to explain the existence of such an internal cause of sound. The external form of Sphoṭa is again of two kinds—class and individual (जाति + व्यक्ति).

Bhartṛhari on Sphoṭa.

As a great exponent of the Mahābhāṣya, Bhartṛhari has dwelt at length on the question of Sphoṭa. He begins with the enunciation of two kinds of Śabda[2] as *indicator* and *indicated*, the former representing the ultimate germ of speech—sound, and the latter being what is really expressed. In view of the popular belief regarding both plurality and order of Sabdas, he makes his position clear by pointing out that no question of order such as priority and posteriority and that of difference can logically be raised in relation to Sphoṭa which is essentially one and eternal. It is sound, he maintains, that passes through successive stages in course of articulation and appears to be either long or short in proportion to exertions. It is practically due to the varying modulations of voice caused by vocal apparatus, that 'Ka'-sound seems to be different from 'Kha'-sound and so on. But Sphoṭa, it must be remembered, remains unaffected. A parallel example[1] is then sought to explain the relation between sound and Sphoṭa. It is a fact of common experience that the sun, though practically a fixed body, seems to be quivering and moving when it is seen through agitated water of a pond. Here, as the agitation of water is reflected on the sun, so (in spite of oneness and undifferentiated character of Sphoṭa) order (क्रम) and difference pertaining to sound are falsely attributed to Sphota. The dual[2] aspects of Śabda, as referred to above, imply that Śabda has the potency of expressing itself as well as its meaning that is associated with it by indissoluble connection. This fact is further corroborated by epistemological evidences. His main thesis may be briefly stated in the following words: Sabda like light is supposed to possess double functions as those of indicative and indicated (ग्राह्य: and ग्राहक:).

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[1] स्फोटो द्विविध: । वाह्य: आभ्यन्तरश्च । तत्राभ्यन्तरस्य मुख्यं वाचकत्वम्—Kuñjika on Mañjūsha, p. 237. आन्तरस्फोटो वाचक इति सिद्धम्—Mañjūsha.

[2] द्वावुपादान शब्देषु शब्दौ शब्दविदो विदुः । एको निमित्तं शब्दानामपरोऽर्थे प्रयुज्यते ।—Vakyapdiya, p. 44.

Then he proceeds to show how Śabda is evolved. Reference[3] is first made to the view (as that of the Naiyāyikas) which does not take "Pada" to be anything but a combination of letters, and similarly does not recognise "sentence" as distinct from Padas and letters. The grammarians, however, entertain quite an opposite view, because they maintain 'वाक्यस्फोट' to be an "indivisible unit" that knows no division or order. It is nothing but an artificial device of grammar to analyse a sentence into parts (Padas) and those parts again into stems and suffixes.

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[1] प्रतिविम्बं यथान्यत्र स्थितं तोयक्रियावशात्। तत् प्रकृतिमिवान्वेति स धर्म्मः स्फोटनादयोः—Vākya-padīya, 1. 44.

[2] "ग्राह्यत्वं ग्राहकत्वं च द्वे शक्ती तेजसो यथा। तथैव सर्वशब्दानामेते पृथगवस्थिते"।—Vākyapadīya, 1. 55.

[3] "तद्वर्णव्यतिरेकेन पदमन्यन्नविद्यते। वाक्यं वर्णपदाभ्यां च व्यतिरिक्तं न किञ्चन।"—Vākyapadīya, 71-72.

The three views regarding the cognition of sound and Sphoṭa are thus briefly summarised[1] :—(*i*) Sound when produced is heard by auditory organs and becomes the positive instrument whereby Sphoṭa is comprehended ; (*ii*) having assumed the material form through the medium of sound, Sphoṭa is capable of being heard ; (*iii*) Sound acts upon the organs concerned and serves to manifest Sphoṭa. The author lends his support to the last one. As to how sound and Sphoṭa, related to each other as indicative and indicated, are to be comprehended, Bhartṛhari refers to four different views on the subject. Some say that Sphoṭa is recognised as identical with sound, just like a piece of marble looking red in contact with "जवाकुसुम" ; some holding sound (though not cognisable by itself) to be indicative of Sphoṭa ; some maintain that exact nature of Sphoṭa, being too subtle to be determined, is sound only that comes under comprehension ; some, again, freely admit that Sphoṭa is really manifested but it is found to be indistinct or unintelligible on account of distance. No doubt, Bhartṛhari has here recorded the views of his predecessors and contemporary grammarians in order to do full justice to so important a subject. But we cannot afford to pass over these views without taking notice of the unique advancement of grammatical speculations as clearly borne out by these references.

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[1] यथा जवाकुसुमरूपानुषक्तमेवस्फटिकादीनां ग्रहणं तथा ध्वनिरूपानुषक्त एव स्फोटस्तदविभागेनोपलभ्यते इति केषांचिन्मतम्—etc. etc.—Puṇyarāja under the Vākyapadīya, Kār. 1. 82.

Referring[1] to the intellectual process of realising Śabda, Bhartṛhari[1] says that the cognition of Śabda practically follows from the last sound together with the impressions made by the preceding sounds.

The immediate consequence of holding Sphoṭa to be one and indivisible was a grave one, as it threatened to strike at the fundamental principle of grammar by making all processes of analysing sentence and words purely artificial.[2] The science of grammar is primarily based upon the principle of analysis. Now, to justify the procedure of grammarians, it must be said on the contrary that they had no other alternative but to isolate words from a composite sentence in order to make the sense of words intelligible to others. It is simply due to our inability, Hari strongly argues, that we cannot comprehend a sentence without taking it to be a combination of words and words as consisting of no parts प्रकृति and प्रत्यय. An examination of facts shows that the grammatical method of analysing sentence and words into their component parts, however artificial from the standpoint of Sphoṭa, is calculated to afford the only scientific means so far as the knowledge of meanings is concerned "शास्त्रीयप्रक्रियानिर्वाहकोपायः." The doctrine of Sphoṭa, as expounded by the grammarians, is not a creation of fancy and result of idle philosophising; it is rather based on the facts that speak for themselves. A moment's notice is only required to realise the existence of some inexhaustible potency lying inside the body which is conceived to be at work at every time of utterance; sound that we hear is not produced by the operation of vocal organs only but has its origin elsewhere. However subjected to criticisms by adverse opponents, the doctrine of Sphoṭa, with all its mysticisms, will continue to appeal to all speculators on the psychology of language as embodying the most accurate exposition with regard to the origin of Vāk. That the principle of grammatical analysis is more or less fanciful is evident from the fact that systems of grammar have their different nomenclatures and technical terms, though they have practically kept the same object in view, *viz.*, ‘साधुशब्दानुशासन.’

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[1] नादैराहितबीजायामन्त्येन ध्वनिना सह। आवृत्तिपरिपाकायां बुद्धौ शब्दोऽवधार्यते।—Vākyapadīya. kār, 1. 85.

[2] व्यवहाराय मन्यन्ते शास्त्रार्थप्रक्रिया यतः—Vākyapadīya. 2. 234.

Paṇyarāja——एवं च निरवयवेष्वपि वर्णपदवाक्येषु मात्राविभागो वर्णविभागः पदविभागश्च काल्पनिको मिथ्येति भावः—kār. 93.

This analytical method, though at best artificial,[1] is supposed to have much utility, as it ultimately enables us to have an insight into the actual state of things. Starting with such unreal phenomena as the division of sentence and words with the obvious object of facilitating the study of words, the grammarians finally succeeded in obtaining a truer perspective while dealing with the problem of Sphoṭa. Bhartṛhari[2] rightly observes that proper attention and close enquiry are needed to arrive at the final solution through a passage so artificial and bewildering. As it is imperfect observation that makes a rope look like a serpent, and such delusion ceases to exist the moment it is cautiously examined, so the grammarians first treated of a sentence as having many parts and those parts as containing various letters. But their angle of vision is practically changed on closer examination of facts and they describe Sphoṭa as an imperishable and indivisible unit without any reservation. The discourse on Sphoṭa reached its culminating point when Sphoṭa was regarded as Brahman itself. The teachings of grammar have thus ultimately pointed to the same "transcendental reality" which has always proved to be "the be-all and end-all of metaphysical speculations."

The later grammarians, specially Śeṣakriṣṇa, Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭoji and Koṇḍabhatta have dealt with the problem of Sphoṭa more clearly and elaborately but all following in the wake of Patañjali and Bhartṛhari. The arguments advanced by Śeṣakrisṇa in defence of Sphoṭa are briefly as follows: "An indivisible[1] unit as Sphoṭa should be accepted on the ground that the sense usually denoted by a word can neither be derived from an individual letter, as it would render all other letters entirely meaningless; nor from a combination of letters, for letters being liable to destruction as soon as they are uttered, would be practically impossible to have a congregate of such transient letters. It is not even sufficient to say that they are cognisable by the same act of memory, because, if it were so, the undesirable consequence will be the identity between such groups of words as नदी, दीन and रस, सर (there being difference of order only), as they consist of the same letters and are comprehended by the same faculty of retention. The grammarians have, therefore, proceeded a step further and recognised the existence of Sphoṭa which is suggested by sound, eternal and not at all divisible into parts.

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[1] शास्त्रेषुप्रक्रियाभेदैरविद्यैवोपवर्ण्यते ।—Vākya. 2. 235.

[2] यथैवदर्शनैः पूर्वैर्दूरात् सन्तमसेऽपिवा। अन्यथाकृत्यविषयमन्यथैवाध्यवस्यति ।—Vākya. 2. 90.

We can compare this view with what Patañjali has said with regard to order (पौर्वापर्य) in letters.[2] As two letters (Patañjali argues) cannot be simultaneously pronounced on account of their transient character, it is useless to raise the question of " priority and posteriority " in connection with letters. This order is to be understood as an intellectual one.[3] Śeṣa continues to say that the cognition of Sphoṭa (as is the case with meanings according to the Naiyāyikas) follows from the last letter together with the impressions made by the preceding letters (पूर्वपूर्वानुभूजन्यभावनासचिवेऽन्तिमे । चेतसि स्फुरति स्फोटः—*Sphoṭa*, p. 13).

The later grammarians have to a certain extent shown prolixity in enunciating the eight different forms of Sphoṭa such as

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[1] न प्रत्येकं न मिलिता न चैकस्मृतिगोचराः । अर्थस्य वाचका वर्णाः किंतु स्फोटः स च द्विधा ।

Sphoṭatattvanirūpaṇa.

[2] न वर्णानां पौर्वापर्यमस्ति । उच्चरितप्रध्वंसित्वाच्च वर्णानाम् ।—Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I, p. 356.

[3] बुद्धिविषयमेव शब्दानां पौर्वापर्यम्—

वर्णस्फोट, पदस्फोट, वाक्यस्फोट, अखण्डपदस्फोट, अखण्डवाक्यस्फोट, वर्णजातिस्फोट, पदजातिस्फोट, वाक्यजातिस्फोट. The author of the Śabda-Kaustubha has clearly dealt with these classifications. It must be however remembered that these varieties with the single exception of 'वाक्यस्फोट' are more or less unreal and not acceptable by all grammarians. Reference has already been made to two kinds of 'वाक्यस्फोट' *viz.* class and individual. An attempt is now made to see how far these standpoints (जातिस्फोट and व्यक्तिस्फोट) are concordant with the Mahābhāṣya. "शब्दत्व" which pertains to all Śabdas is regarded to be a class, and consequently शब्दाकृति by its very nature (नित्यानेकसमवेतत्वम्) deserves to be treated as eternal. Bhartṛhari has thrown some side-light on this point. The word Sphoṭa in "उभयतः स्फोटमात्रं निर्दिश्यते" (as in the Mahābhāṣya) has led some to favour the view that Sphoṭa is virtually a class that is suggested by individual words or sounds, and that शब्दव्यक्ति receives the designation of ध्वनि by suggesting जातिस्फोट. Some, again, hold,[1] on the other hand, that व्यक्तिस्फोट (as opposed to जातिस्फोट) is one and imperishable. As to the apparent plurality of व्यक्ति, they maintain that the interval or intervention caused by time and words which tends to prove the diversity of one and the same व्यक्ति as अकार, is only due to the variation of sounds whereby Sphoṭa is suggested. According to this point of view, it should be borne in mind, the "a" sound in "द्" is not distinct from that in 'खड्.' This view is, however, open to objections and is finally set aside by Patañjali. Those who like Patañjali advocate जातिस्फोटपक्ष [2] advance their arguments to repudiate both unity and eternality of व्यक्तिस्फोट on the ground that अकार seems to have more than one form according as it is called उदात्त, अनुदात्त, स्वरित and प्लुत. It is not even plausible to suggest that the same "अकार" which is first pronounced as उदात्त is next taken to be अनुदात्त and so on, for, if it were so, Sphoṭa would cease to be eternal (on account of assuming diverse forms). Thus जातिस्फोट is finally accepted as what gives the correct solution of the problem (आकृतिग्रहणात् सिद्धम्,[1] Mahābhāṣya. 1. 1.2).

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[1] "व्यक्तेरेकत्ववादी तस्या नित्यत्वं मन्यते"—Bhāṣyapradīpodyota.

आदित्यवत्स्युः—तद्यथा एक आदित्योऽनेकाधिकरणस्थो युगपद्देशपृथक्त्वेषूपलभ्यते ।

[2] जातिरेव एका, शब्दव्यक्तयस्त्वनन्ता इति वादीत्यर्थः—Uddyota.

Having thus discussed the salient characteristics of Sphoṭa from all possible standpoints, we now proceed to see how "स्फोटवाद" which is popularly attributed to the grammarians was received by different schools of Hindu Philosophy. However carefully conceived and ingeniously nourished by the grammarians, the theory of Sphoṭa seems to have a strange fate, as it failed to find any favourable response at the hands of reputed philosophers ; what is still more regrettable is that it was rather subjected to stern and vigorous criticisms. Though it embodies, so to speak, the crowning achievement of all grammatical speculations, the theory of Sphoṭa unfortunately met with nothing but disapproval on all sides. The only school of Indian thought which appears to have lent support to the assumption of an invisible speech-unit as Sphoṭa, is, if we are allowed to hold, the Yoga system of Patañjali. It is practically on the evidence of such aphorisms as Yoga Sūtras 1. 31 and 3. 17 and the expositions of Vyāsa thereon, and partly in consequence of the supposed identity between the authors of the Mahābhāṣya and the Yoga Sūtras, that the existence of Sphoṭa is said to have been recognised and supported by the author of the Yoga Sūtra. Truth to tell, there is no express mention of Sphoṭa as such in the aphorisms, it is only in the comments of Vyāsa and the gloss of Vācaspati that some side-light has been thrown on the question of Sphoṭa.

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[1] एवं व्यक्तिस्फोटपक्षे निराकृते जातिस्फोटपक्ष एवाश्रियते— aiyaṭa.

तस्माद्भिन्ना एवानित्या एकाकाराः, प्रत्यभिज्ञात्वाकृतिनिबन्धनेति जातिस्फोटपक्षोऽत्रव्यवस्थापितः Kāiyaṭa.

The Sāṃkhya Sūtra refutes the existence of Sphoṭa.

It is too well known a fact that all objects of thought with the exception of "Primordial matter" and soul, are declared to be "कार्य"[1] or products by the teachers of Sāṃkhya school (प्रकृतिपुरुषयोरन्यत्सर्वंकार्यमिति). Having taken a rather perverted view against the orthodox interpretations, they have rejected the fundamental tenets of the Mīmāṁsakas, *viz.*, eternity of sound,[1] of the Vedas and of the relation between sound and meanings. It requires no other evidence but ordinary perception and inference to prove that Śabda is produced by the agency of vocal organs and has only momentary existence. The Sāṃkhya Sūtra (5.57) distinctly repudiates Sphoṭa[2] as practically incomprehensible. The reason for refutation is a very simple one. As no other element apart from letters comes to notice in the cognition of a word, it is absolutely useless or superfluous to assume the existence of Sphoṭa (which passes our vision and comprehension) as distinct from letters. As letters are, on the contrary, directly perceived, it is more reasonable to take them to be expressive of sense. If again letters are supposed to be insignificant by themselves, we are equally allowed to doubt the so-called expressiveness of Sphoṭa. Now, the point at issue is when letters are found to be really expressive of sense, the assumption of Sphoṭa in addition to letters becomes a superfluity which the followers of Sāṃkhya school are not prepared to accept. There is another argument which also goes against the indivisible unity of Sphoṭa. As meanings are liable to changes according to the different arrangement of letters (as in नदी and दीन) and as sounds are diversified in their character and have manifold significance, we cannot reasonably take Sphoṭa to be one and eternal. The conclusion to which these arguments lead is that Sphoṭa, being inconceivable, is no Śabda at all, but letters alone, no matter if they are perishable, are what constitute words in the real sense of the term.

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[1] न शब्दनित्यत्वं कार्यताप्रतीतेः—Sāṅkhya Sūtra. 5. 58.

[2] "प्रतीत्यप्रतीतिभ्यां न स्फोटात्मकः शब्दः।"—Sāṅkhya Sūtra. 5. 57.

प्रतीति वर्णानामप्रतीतिः स्फोट वर्णातिरिक्तस्य, तस्मान्न स्फोटः शब्दः, किंतु वर्णा एव। Sāṅkhya-Vritti.

No comment is, however, necessary to show that the Sāṅkhyaites, who profess to be rationalistic, have taken notice of only the outward aspect of speech and have totally neglected the more important side of the question, *viz.*, psychological or internal aspect. Their main point of discordance is that they ascribe significance to so transient a thing as letters but do not strive further to find out the permanent entity as is manifested by sound. As to non-perception of Sphoṭa, it must be remembered that Sphoṭavādins also were not slow to emphasise the difficulty that lies in the way of having a perceptional knowledge of Sphoṭa; further, they made no secret as to the necessity of a thorough concentration of mind in order to realise the existence of Sphoṭa. Moreover, Sphoṭa is not capable of being perceived by ordinary sense-organs: it is only suggested or manifested by sound.

Rejection of Sphoṭa by the Mīmāṁsakas.

Regarding the existence of Sphoṭa (as distinct from letters) the views of the Mīmāṁsakas, as ably represented by the author of the Ślokavārttika, are far from being reconcilable with those of the grammarians. Having taken a purely physical view of Śabda (as consisting of letters only), the Mīmāṁsakas like Śaṅkara, turned to the old theory of the revered teacher Upavarṣa (वर्णा एव तु शब्द इति भगवानुपवर्षः) and accordingly identified Śabda with letters. To assume something as Sphoṭa, apart from letters is, as they hold, opposed to all perceptional cognition. It is letters that are actually perceived in a word, as, for instance, the word "Gauḥ" does not appear to have any other element excepting the three constituent letters—*ga*—ग, *au*—औ, and विसर्ग—*Visarga*. It is curious to note that while so much stress is laid on the popular experience (प्रत्यक्ष), the importance of the logical aspect of Śabda has rather been minimised so as to weaken the ground on which the grammarians sought to build the edifice of Sphoṭavāda. When word as a combination of letters is practically seen to be expressive of sense and no other factor is found to be in operation in the comprehension of such meaning, it is nothing but superfluous to assume the existence of Sphoṭa as distinct from letters. The grammarians, it must be remembered, have declared Sphoṭa to be virtually distinct from letters (the relation being that of manifestor and manifested) and further held Sphoṭa to be the only significant element of speech "वाचकतास्फोटैकनिष्ठा." The Mīmāṃsakas[1] maintain that letters have no parts and that there is no such aggregate (whole : अवयवी) in the cognition of word apart from the component letters. In assigning meanings to words the Mīmāṃsakas had to face one difficult problem. Are all letters individually significant by themselves, or it is an aggregate of them whereby the meaning is expressed? The untenable character of the first view is clearly evident, since the competency of each individual letter to signify the intended sense is contrary to our experience; as regards the second, it is not possible to have an aggregate or simultaneous combination of letters simply for the reason of minute intervals in the utterance of sounds. The Mīmāṃsakas make their way out of the situation by saying that the significance of words depends upon convention or popular usage. As the comprehension of meaning directly follows from the letters that constitute a word, and as nothing else is required for the purpose, it is only logical, they hold, to take letters as what express the sense. Kumārila shows further how by accepting Sphoṭa as an entity we are liable to make a number of unnecessary assumptions, such as the existence of Sphoṭa, distinctness of Sphoṭa from letters and its indivisibility into parts. It is not quite clear from what we have considered that the arguments advanced by the Mīmāṃsakas against the Sphoṭavāda are, generally speaking, reducible to two only, namely, the existence of Sphoṭa apart from letters involves a contradiction of perceptible facts (दृष्टहानि) and is an unwarranted assumption of something that is invisible (अदृष्टकल्पना). The concluding verse[1] of the author reveals, however, the reason why he could not lend support to the theory of Sphoṭa. As a matter of fact, the assumption of Sphoṭa, which makes all divisions of sentence and words merely artificial, is found to be entirely inconsistent with the main tenets of the Mīmāṃsā system, for it renders "ūha," "Prayāja[2]" etc. (which pertain to letters, words and sentences) absolutely conventional. It is, therefore, to retain the genuine character of the Vedic texts that Kumārila made such a vigorous attempt to refute the existence of Sphoṭa.

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[1] स्फोटवादः—Śloka-vārttika.

Śaṅkara on Sphoṭa.

The Vedāntins have fully acknowledged the eternality of Śabda; they have, on the authority of scriptural texts, even gone to the extent of investing Śabda with the potency of producing the entire world. While dealing with Logos and its "world-producing power," Śaṅkara has conveniently devoted considerable space under the Vedānta-Sūtra 1,3,28. to find out the exact nature of Śabda. With his characteristic manner of presenting arguments, he first points out the incongruities that become almost unavoidable, if letters having both production and destruction, were to be regarded as Śabda proper, and subsequently continues to acknowledge Sphoṭa as what represents the permanent form of Śabda. The way in which Śaṅkara has at first advanced arguments in defence of the existence of Sphoṭa, exposing the untenable features of वर्णपक्ष leads one to believe, though temporarily, that he maintained no antagonistic view against the grammatical interpretations of the Sphoṭavāda. This impression is, however, of a short duration, because next we find Śaṅkara[1] more favourably examining the view of Upavarṣa almost in the same way as the Mīmāṁsakas. As to the question of production and destruction of letters, he argues that it really implies the recognition (प्रत्यभिज्ञान) of the same letter. What is meant is that different letters are not produced and uttered each time, but as a matter of fact, the same sound, say *ka*, (as in कल and काल) is heard. It should be, however, noticed here that the Naiyāyikas are not prepared to take the above as an instance of recognition (प्रत्यभिज्ञान), but explain the sameness of "Ka"-sounds as due to their belonging to the same class (कत्व). To sum up the two views: According to the Mîmāṁsakas and Vedāntins the same "Ka"-sound is heard again and again, whereas the Naiyāyikas do not maintain the non-differentiation of the individuals and consequently take all "Ka"-sounds as belonging to the same class. This re-cognition, continues Śaṅkara, does not follow from the knowledge of a class; it is individual letters (वर्णव्यक्तयः) that are comprehended each time. Again, we are accustomed to hold the form "Gauḥ," though it consists of three distinct letters, as one word. How is it then possible to have such a cognition of oneness when its component parts are far from being one? Having attributed the diversified character of one and the same letter to the difference of sound (ध्वनिकृतभेद), he proceeds to say that sometimes many things form the subject of one intellection (अनेकस्याप्येकबुद्धिविषयत्वम्), as many trees, for instance, are denoted by the word forest (वन). At last Śaṅkara sums up the arguments on both sides, *viz.*, Varṇavāda and Sphoṭavāda, and after minute examination of facts arrives at the conclusion that the view maintained by the "Varṇavādins"[2] is simpler and appeals more to reason and experience, while that of the "Sphoṭavādins" is vitiated by prolixity and involves far-fetched speculations. To hold, he observes, letters, as they are comprehended one after another, to be indicative of Sphoṭa which really signifies the intended sense, is to take a superfluous view of the whole problem.

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[1] वर्णातिरिक्त प्रतिषिध्यमानः, पदेषु मन्दं फलमादधाति ।
कार्याणि वाक्यावयवाश्रयाणि, सत्यानि कर्तुं कृत एषः यत्नः ॥—Śloka-vārtika, kār. 137.

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[1] Vedānta Sūtra—Śānkara Bhāṣya under the aphorism—1.3.28.

[2] "वर्णवादिनो लघीयसी कल्पना" स्फोटवादिनस्तु दृष्टहानिः, अदृष्टकल्पनाच्च वर्णाश्चेमे क्रमेण गृह्यमाणाः स्फोटं व्यञ्जयन्तीति स स्फोटोऽर्थं व्यनक्तीति गरीयसी कल्पना स्यात्—Śankara Bhāṣya.

According to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika point of view, sound is a quality of ether, comprehended by the organ of hearing, and has a momentary existence. It is of two kinds—(1) sound as represented by letters like "Ka," etc.; (2) sound as produced by the beat of drum and blowing of conches and so on. The former, *viz.*, "वर्णलक्षणशब्द" is alone significant and is generally used as a medium for communicating the ideas. Praśastapāda, the well known commentator on the Vaiśeṣika Sūtra, has attempted to show how words are produced. The view of this commentator regarding the origin of sound is almost the same as is to be found in treatises on Śikṣās. A desire is first felt within, the author says, by the conjunction of mind with soul, for the utterance of sound (in order to give expression to the thoughts rising in the mind); then efforts are made which bring about a movement in the region of internal air. Thus moved by causes from within the internal air proceeds upwards till it comes in contact with the vocal apparatus; thus, conjunction which is followed by vibration in the ether gives rise to sound that is destroyed as soon as it is uttered. A word is, therefore, कार्यं as opposed to नित्य. The Naiyāyikas as well as the Vaiśeṣikas have thus taken a non-eternal view of word differing from the grammarians who assume a permanent form of word as is represented by Sphoṭa.

Śrīdhara on Sphoṭa.

In his annotations on the Bhāṣya, Śrīdhara[1] has made an attempt to show the want of logic in the grammatical conception of Sphoṭa. He first raises the question whether meaning is expressed by the sentence or by Sphoṭa. If a word is nothing but an aggregate of letters, holds the Sphoṭavādin, and a sentence not at all distinct from its component parts (words), then there would be no comprehension of meaning whatsoever, for neither individual letter is competent to convey the entire meaning (as it would render other letters simply redundant), nor an aggregate is practically possible, as all letters cannot be pronounced simultaneously. The author meets this objection by holding for argument's sake that letters are eternal and not transitory, as in that case such an aggregate would not be incomprehensible. But this argument cannot stand for obvious reasons. It is further argued by the opponent that letters are perceived one after another and then impressions are produced in the mind. This is also untenable. For, if there is order in recollections, as shown above, there would be no co-existence of sounds to form an aggregate. As the comprehension of meaning is otherwise impossible, the Sphoṭavādins have been led to acknowledge the existence of Sphoṭa as what expresses the meaning. But such an assumption has no meaning to a rationalist philosopher like Srīdhara. The following arguments among others are sought by Śrīdhara to refute the existence of Sphoṭa: Sphoṭa is never directly perceived but falsely assumed by the grammarians; the denotation lies within the word and not with an imperceptible entity as Sphoṭa. To assume Sphoṭa as distinct from letters is as fallacious as to conceive a 'flower in the sky' ("गगनकुसुमस्येवस्फोटकल्पना न युक्ता").

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[1] Nyāya Kandalī (Śrīdhara)—*viz.* Sk., p. 267.

Before bringing this topic to a close, we have one word more. Considering what have been said about the doctrine of Sphoṭa by the different schools of Indian philosophy, it is sufficiently clear that the main contention raised against the Sphoṭa is based upon the fact that the assumption of Sphoṭa is

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[1] Nyāya Kandalī (Śrīdhara), *viz.* Sk. series, गुणग्रन्थे संस्कार निरूपण, pp. 269-270 "तदेवं वर्णस्य एव संस्कारद्वारेणार्थप्रत्ययसम्भवादयुक्ता स्फोटकल्पना."

contrary to all perception and involves far-fetched speculations (दृष्टहानिः, अदृष्टकल्पना). Having taken their stand on the facts established by direct perception, the opponents of the Sphoṭavāda seem to have carried the popular opinion in their favour, but it would be a positive mistake to suppose that what the Sphoṭavādins tried to establish was a creation of fancy. It cannot be, however, denied that the Sphoṭavādins made no secret as to the imperceptibility of Sphoṭa by ordinary means; moreover, it was repeatedly pointed out that the realisation of Sphoṭa requires a good deal of spiritual meditation and perfect concentration of mind. As it is not logically correct to take anything to be unreal, simply because it is not directly perceived, we do not find sufficient reason to deny the very existence of Sphoṭa which, though invisible, is said to be manifested by sound. Sphoṭa, to speak the truth, bears comparison with soul, as both come nuder our cognition through the instrumentality of inference, the former being indicated by the sound and the latter by volition, effort, pleasure, pain, etc. As to the other side of the contention (गरीयसी स्फोटकल्पना), we should say that the upholders of the Sphoṭavāda had minutely examined all external aspects of words before they could grasp so subtle an entity as Sphoṭa by unfolding the psychological phenomena underlying the origin of sound. The standpoint wherefrom the grammarians have viewed the ultimate germ of all speech-sounds is materially different from that of Śaṅkara, Kumārila, Śrīdhara and others. To the grammarians, Sphoṭa is sacred and divine, so much so, that it is identified with Brahman. In spite of all adverse criticisms that have been heaped upon it, the theory of Sphoṭa will continue to survive as embodying the most accurate and orthodox interpretation of the origin of sound.

PRABHATCHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI

BRAHMINISM IN THE "SMRITIS"

II

It will be clear how sages solved the important problem of food. The rules propounded will show how primitive that culture was, how slowly it developed and how painfully learned wigs wrangled on the knotty points. I shall deal with the problem of purity of blood in a separate chapter. I shall now quote a few extracts, showing their knowledge of other things. I shall quote what to me appear to be very interestingly characteristic instructions.

We find in the Smritis instructions for cleansing utensils and such things :

"Objects made of metal must be scourged, those made of clay should be thoroughly heated by fire, those made of wood must be planed; and cloth made of thread should be washed. Objects made of stone, jewels, shells, or mother of pearl must be treated like those made of metal. Objects made of bone and mud must be treated like wood. Ropes, chips of bamboo and leather must be treated like garments" (*Gautam, Ch. I, 29-31, 33, S. B. E.*). "Articles made of copper, lead or brass should be purified by rubbing them with any acid substance, articles made of iron or bell-metal should be purified by rubbing them with any alkaline substance" (*Sankha Samhita, Ch. 16.4; Dutt's trans.*). "Silk and woolen stuffs, with alkaline earth, blankets with pounded Arishta fruit, Amsupattas with Bel fruit; linen cloth with a paste of yellow mustard." (*Manu, Ch. V, 120, S. B. E.*). See also *Vishnu-Smriti, Ch. 23, S. B. E.*

This will show how people acquired the knowledge of purifying objects of use and consumption :—

The following details about tooth brush will also be found interesting :—

"Vishnu recommends a stick 'as thick as the top of the little finger provided with one end that may be chewed and twelve angulas long' for a tooth brush. (*Vishnu Smriti, ch. 61, 1-16, S. B. E.*).

"A house-holder must not use Palās wood for cleaning his teeth;

nor the Sleshmantak plant, nor twigs of the soap-plant, nor of the Vibhitaka tree, nor of the Dhava plant, nor of the Dhāmani tree; nor of the Bandhuka plant, nor of the Nirgundi shrub, nor of the Sigru, Tilva and Tinduka trees, nor of the Kovidāra, Somi, Pilu, Pippal, Ingud or Guggula trees, nor of the Paribhadrak or tamarind or Mochak, or Semal trees; nor sweet plants, nor sour plants, nor twigs that have withered on the stem, nor perforated wood, nor stinking wood, nor smooth wood. He must use the twigs of the Banyan or Ashva trees or of the Arka plant, or of the khadir or karanja or Badara or Sāl or Nimb trees or of the Arimeda shrub or of the Apāmārga or Malati plants, or of the Kakubh or Bel trees, or of the Kashāya tree or of the Tikta or Katuka plants."

It is common sight in India to see people cleaning their teeth with twigs of Nimb or Khadir tree. The point is to note how many trees must have been tried and rejected before this list was prepared for guidance.

The Smritis are replete with grave directions about these simple things. Vishnu-Smriti says that one must "not travel alone, nor too early in the morning, nor too late in the evening, nor at noon, nor near water." A traveller must not stop ".at night at the root of a tree, in an empty house, upon a meadow or in a stable." (*Ch. 63-2, 19. S. B. E.*). He must not "cross a river without need, "stand on the bank or gaze into a pool or cross in a leaky vessel."'" (*Ch. 63: 44, 48-49, 47, S. B. E.*). One must not eat "during an indigestion, at midnight, noon or twilight, lying stretched out on the back, sitting on a broken stool, reclining on a couch, or upon the ground." (*Ch. 68. 9-12, 17-19, 22, S. B. E.*). One must not sleep on wet (fresh) bamboo, in the open air, on a bedstead made of Palash wood, broken, of scorched wood or of the wood of a tree that used to be watered with the jar." (*Ch. 70-4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, S. B. E.*). Studies shall be stopped "when there is barking of many dogs, the braying of many asses, the cry of a wolf or solitary jackal or of an owl, if the wind roars, if lightning flashes or thunder rolls, when there is an eclipse of the sun or moon, or an earthquake, or a whirlwind, fall of a meteor or appearance of a comet." (*Āpastamba,* 1 *S. B. E.*). This will show how our forefathers became fied at these phenomena and stopped their studies.

These extracts are given not as showing the sta things when the Smritis as they are were composed. are mere traces of the distant past when man was in stage and they are relics of the precepts handed dow the wise of that period and preserved by our Smrit hallowed treasure of ancient wisdom.

How social heritage is handed on.

Every individual has something to tell of his experience. Each one has picked up bits of knowled one's pilgrimage of life. The problem suggests itself in form. Does this treasure die with the man? Is it with the individual in his next birth? If so, is the bl individual born again in hell or heaven or even am us mortals? Does that individual transmit his intellig and learning to his offspring? As regards the latter que there is a conflict of learned opinion amongst western sav Darwin and Spencer are in favour of transmission of acq qualities. Weisman is against this view. and Prof McDougall says :—

> "If modifications or qualities acquired by use are transmitte accumulation of such effects is in most, probably all cases, a very and slow and gradual process requiring many generations to p an appreciable degree of effect." (*Is America safe for Democ* McDougall).

The Smritis also exhibit the same perplexity at phenomenon. It is in glaring contrast to the pos answers which they give to the first question. We scholars stand mute and stunned at the Great Unkr beyond this life. Our savants are never more copious on other point. Our science of astrology professes to give whole history in detail of your doings in the whole cycle of eight and half millions of preceding births and to foretell as many futures. Our Smritis tell exactly whether a particular hell or a particular body will be one's abode in the next life. The silence of the West and the volubility of the East are in strange contrast. I shall deal with these problems in later chapters; not with any hope of solving them, but certainly with a hope of pointing out some plain hints towards some sort of solution of them. From remotest antiquity men have dabbled into this search; even now we are in the dark; but the labours of centuries of human effort have not been in vain. If we have not solved the riddle, we have at least made some effort towards an approach to a solution; if we have not done even that, we have at least exploded many a quack solution and reading.

And even though the mystery has been there unsolved all along, mankind has gone on progressing. The speed has increased with our onward march and from mincing tawddling steps we have been going in giant strides. Here we are bestriding the world like a colossus. From remotest antiquity men have come unto us and gone away, but thank God, none of them, bag and baggage. They bequeath to us their hard-won gains. Alas! what good would there be in death if that was not so? Men have not only left their material wealth, which we so much applaud, men have bequeathed the rich treasures of their brain, which, however, we scarcely appreciate. Everyone has poured his learning and wisdom, garnered in his life-time into listening ears. The richest legacies have been left by word of mouth. The social heritage has begun in oral wills. The legatees have treasured the heritage in their memories and passed it on. They then discovered the art of registering in writing the wisdom of old. Mankind has progressed exactly in the proportion it has progressed in this art of communicating and preserving of knowledge acquired by painful experiments and penetrating observation. The inveterate loquacity of old age and volubility of womankind are impulses, which, as Graham Wallas says, have an evolutionary history of their own earlier than the history of those intellectual processes by which it is often directed and modified. ("Human Nature in Politics.") As the same learned writer says :

> "Our inherited organization inclines us to react in certain ways to certain stimuli, because such reactions have been useful in the past in preserving our species." (*Ibid.*)

Mankind has progressed because it has been communicative in the extreme.

The great discovery of understandable sounds called speech and language is a land-mark of highly momentous consequences. Like rich lordlings born with silver spoon in our mouths, we do not appreciate the full significance of our estate. The Rishis, who were earlier in the struggle and nearer to the view, are rightly ecstatic in its praise. They hail the phenomenon in reverential awfulness. Manu says :

> "Prajapati, the lord of creatures, milked out as it were from the three Vedas the sounds A, U, and M, the monosyllable OM is the highest Brahman, know that the syllable OM is imperishable and it is Brahman and the lord of creatures Prajapati, the initial triliteral Brahman (*OM*) on which the three-fold sacred science is based, is another triple Veda. He who knows that is called learned in the Veda." (*Manu, Ch. 2. 76, 83-84; Ch. XI, 266. S.B.E.*).

There is no better appreciation of the importance of language in our uplift than this. It stands to our credit indeed that we have deified speech into a goddess. The Indians are right in giving such paramount importance to the triliteral OM, though we have forgotten its true significance. The recent researches into the history of language, philosophy, phonetics, scriptology will make us stand in awe-struck gratitude at the Pyramid of understandable sounds put up after immense trouble of centuries.

The wildest imagination will stagger at the idea of the immense trouble required in giving a name to every object and each one of its countless attributes and every idea, thought and feeling of the human mind. After efforts of centuries we yet have to punctuate our speech with phrases indicative of our inability to express ourselves. "That is," "And what I mean is this," "I did'nt mean it, though." Ah, how often we confess to failures. From time immemorial men have applauded orators and poets who have succeeded in giving expression to our thoughts and feelings. And yet in our highest exuberance of feelings we say, "Words fail me, gentlemen." What an allusion to our distant past, what an echo of the remote antiquity is not there? "Words fail me, gentlemen"!! Even so, gentlemen, words failed our ancestors. Trenching on its heels stood before them the appalling difficulty of getting together a tolerably sufficient number of fellow-men to agree on this code of words. Even now there is raised a deafening babel of diverse tougues and attempts are made to do in a wink what required centuries of co-operative effort. We do require a world-language, indeed, as we do a world-state, but there they stand athwart like the Himalayas, petty nationalities and pettier dialects.

By efforts of centuries men have succeeded in getting together large masses to agree on a common language. We do worse in fretting at these nationalities as Mr. Wells does. Let us glory in the achievement and only that will put hope in our desponding hearts. The despair with which our wise men look at any attempt to invent a common language for the whole of mankind, is an exact measure of the difficulties our ancestors had to surmount in bringing together their fellow-men to agree on a certain language. Nothing else can bring home adequately the difficulty of the task and the brilliancy of the achievement. And shall we yet call them 'barbarians,' 'savages' and such names? No, they had the same amount of intellect, perhaps more; the results appear to us poor, but the difficulties were stupendous, and were it not that we have grown taller only standing on their shoulders, where would we have been?

With language achieved it became easier to communicate knowledge gained by every individual in his life. It became thus registered in memories of learners. It could not die with the individual. There could not be a man who had not something to teach. There could not be men who had not everything to learn. When there was no language, knowledge acquired died with the acquirer and man had to begin again for himself from the beginning. Social heritage was impossible. Every fellow came into the world literally cut off to a pence. With language, knowledge acquired became imperishable, and with additions, drop by drop, swelled into the Pierian fountain, where men drunk deep. Manu says it very nicely : " Know that the syllable OM is imperishable." Forsooth, it is so.

And thus came into being ' Shrutis '—' knowledge heard. ' Manu says " But from fire, wind, and the sun he drew forth the three-fold eternal Veda " (Ch. I. 23); the Veda contains knowledge about these phenomena—the most appalling then—humble prayers and sincere rejoicings. And naturally followed ' Smritis '—knowledge remembered—engraved on tablets of memory. " The Veda is the source of the sacred law " says Gautam (Ch. I. 1); and so says every Smriti. It was not only so, the Smritis were nothing but the ' Shrutis ' in the beginning. And hearing and remembering, mankind pulled on to prosperity and plenty.

Memorizing knowledge, the whole of the social heritage, is always a very difficult task, involving immense wastage of human energy. But in the beginning there was no go. From language to script was a very very long step. The invention of writing was itself a task of immense difficulty and second only to the invention of language. Read any article on ' Alphabet ' in any encyclopædia and you will understand the difficulty of the task and the slow progress made. The Mnemonic, the Pictorial, the Ideographic, the Phonetic, how painfully has man achieved the marvel of the alphabets. Carving them on stones, on burnt-bricks, metals, Bhurja-Patra, how troublesome and painful? And yet people went to the trouble of it, to avoid the quicksands and slime of their memory. Knowledge was no sooner memorized than some of it leaked out of our frail memories, much of it became mixed together sheerly out of its proper context and limitations and still more was overlaid with inventions pure of selfish repositories. The pure crystal stream became muddy and dark as it rolled through the ages.

The pollution was, indeed, small; but the leakage was horrible. In India, especially, much of most valuable knowledge has died with those who knew. The human frame is perishable, the torch of learning is liable to be extinguished at any moment ere it lights another. And to avoid this man invented the art of writing, and consigned his heritage to more durable material.

The art of writing is traced to about 6,000 years in Egypt but it was the awkward hieroglyphic. The Phœnician alphabet came into being in the tenth century B. C. (see Chambers's Encyclopaedia, 1st Volume, just published 'Alphabet'). There is some warrant for the opinion that, in Vedic times, the art of writing was unknown in India. It is also a significant fact that the Aryans of the North who imposed their culture on the Dravidians of the South, could not yet impose their script on them who had one of their own. There are found traces of connection between the Dravidian and Hittite cultures. It is not improbable that the art of writing came to them from the valley of the Euphrates. Howsoever it was, it was rather at a very late stage in India that writing was invented and it was at a still later stage when it was used to record knowledge. Even to-day men spend such valuable time in committing to memory the

Vedas and other Shastras. We need to stanch the wastage of the most valuable brain power of our country. The universal rule in India has been memorizing knowledge and the result has been immense leakage, wastage and muddling. But even in this country writing came to be availed of as a repository of knowledge, though at a very late period and to a very small extent.

The materials used gave too much trouble. Rocks and metals were hard to carve into, bricks were bulky, not portable, and inconvenient, Bhurja Patras (palm-leaves) were extremely liable to go to pieces. Washington Irving draws a very good picture, though for his own ends. Says he:

> "Works had to be transcribed by hand, which was a slow and laborious process, they were written either on parchment, which was expensive, so that one work was often erased to make way for another, or on papyrus, which was fragile and extremely perishable. The accumulation of manuscripts was slow and costly and confined almost entirely to monasteries."

And here we are in an age of paper and printing.

> "The invention of paper and the press, have put an end to all these restraints. They have made every one a writer and enabled every mind to pour itself into print and diffuse itself over the whole intellectual world. The stream of literature has swollen into a torrent—augmented into a river—expanded into a sea. Let criticism do what it may, writers will write, printers will print, and the world will inevitably be overstocked with good books. It will be the employment of a life-time to learn their names, and before long a man of erudition will be little better than a mere walking catalogue."

It is indeed an alarming phase of the invention, much is being put in print which better had been not even talked and if talked, forgotten. We are certainly overdoing and misusing. But well used paper and printing is an agency of immense power and promise for the future and has been the chief instrument of our uplift in the Past. We owe our giant strides since the end of Middle ages to it.

Acquirement of knowledge is indeed difficult, but it is not impossible at all, unless there are contrivances for its accumulation and distribution. Man could not conquer Nature single-handed. Co-operative effort by a large body of fellow-men and for a very considerable length of time, was required to gather the rudiments of our vast learning. Language conquered the initial difficulty on the way of this co-operative effort. It enabled men to profit by the experience of his fellow-being. It enabled men to profit by the experience of past generations. Men could thus grow wise before the event and be prepared. And thus grew in volume our social heritage.

Some individuals are likely to have had a larger experience of their own than others. The elders certainly, one and all, could lay claim to larger experience, and when knowledge was mainly acquired by actual experience, age was and had always been the best workable index of wisdom. Knowledge certainly then depended on the length of one's beard and the criterion was naturally not so laughable then. Then some individuals are likely to have had special opportunities of imbibing knowledge from others who had had their own story to tell. It is the most natural process that some individuals had uncommon experience of their own and acquaintance with the experience of an uncommonly large number of others. It was inevitable that the less-knowing fellow-men inquired of these more-knowing individuals, took their counsel, followed their instructions which were found to do much good to them and so relied upon them for guidance in the diverse matters of their hard and troublesome life.

The whole culture was handed down by word of mouth. This fact at once enables us to say that Brahmins were originally these wise men. The celebrated Vedic text giving out the genesis of the Body Politik is nothing more than a description of the Leviathan "To the Brahman belongs the mouth," this is the story of the Veda taken up by the Smritis. This metaphor and imagery has been engrafted with countless others and what was originally a happy description became a violent justification for undeserved pretensions and condemnations. The one thing which characterized a Brahman was his mouth. He gave out truths, bits of social heritage which always did good and never came to be untrue. "A speech uttered by Brahmanas never fails to come true, what the Brahmanas pronounce, the Gods will ratify." (Vishnu-smriti, ch. 19, 22-23, S. B. E.). "Riding in the chariot of scriptures and wielding the swords of the Vedas in their hands, Brahmanas, whatever they may speak even in fun, is highly obligatory." (Parasara-samhita, ch. 8, 33, Dutt's Trans.). "It is said that the Brahmanas first made the Vedas known. The Brahman saves one from misfortunes." (Vasistha-Samhita, Ch. I, Dutt's Trans.). The word of Brahman came out so true, that it was considered to have a power of its own. Manu says, "speech, indeed, is the weapon of the Brahmanas." (Ch. XI, 33, S. B. E.) These simple truths, shorn of subsequent imagery, gives the origin of the word Brahman which means a man who spoke. The Sanskrit root for 'to speak' is 'Bru' and it is probable that Brahman is derived from it. Themistes shot out of the mouth of the Brahmanas, most truthful and prophetic pronouncements.

Specialization and Co-operation.

In the beginning men came unto Brahmanas for every sort of instruction. What shall he eat, how much shall he eat, how shall he cook, how shall he look, how shall he bathe, how shall he cleanse utensils, how his malady may be cured, were questions asked of a Brahman. There was nothing on which a Brahman could not be consulted. But as knowledge grew in volume, it became impossible for one man to know about all things imaginable. Men began to specialize in particular branches of knowledge. Some specialized in their knowledge of agriculture, cattle-farming and dairying, trade and commerce; some, in the art of warfare and government; and some, in the science of law and philosophy. Some became specialists in manual arts. The age of specialists dawned. It became impossible to learn everything of everything for one man or one class. Men naturally went to experts in their branch for instruction.

Man's progress consists of his progress in his conquest of nature and his progress in the art of living together. (Marvin's "Progress and History.") They are, indeed, linked together. One is the cause and the other is the effect in sweet mutuality. Conquering Nature, they have lived together in sweet fellowship; living together in sweet fellowship, they have conquered Nature. Thus has progress in civilization been achieved by the onward march of human regiments, in mutual interdependence and harmony of the component parts. The slightest discord would have been fatal in those early days and men moved on, out of sheer necessity, in sweetest harmony and concord.

The so-called Shudras and Vaishyas devoted themselves to the conquest of Nature; the Brahmans and Kshatriyas took to the knowledge of the art of living together. Society did not divide and break up into water-tight compartments, into atoms warring at each other's throat. No more beautiful picture of society was conceived than that in the Purush Sukta. The body politik, the unity and harmony of the limbs, the utter dependence of one on the other; the Leviathan was seen in India on all its sides and the ideas inculcated from earliest childhood. Duties first and rights afterwards has always been the philosophy of India.

Hârita says that the Vaishyas should hold their riches in trust for all until the end of their lives. (*Harita-Samhita, Ch. 2. 8, Dutt's Trans.*) "The kings deserve the one-sixth of the produce always," says Harit (*Ch. 2. 3, ibid*). The sage Parashara most poetically says:

> As a flowerman strings a garland of flowers by culling one from each flower plant in the garden, so a king shall raise his revenue by imposing

a light tax on his individual subjects without inflicting hardship on any. He will not be like a charcoal man, who fells down all the trees in a garden and reduces them to cinders." (*Parashara-Samhita, Ch. I. 59, Dutt's Trans.*).

Gautam says that it is the king's duty to protect all created beings, to learn the management of the chariot and the use of the bow and to stand firm in battle and not to turn back. (*Gautam, Ch. 10. 7-16, S.B.E.*) It was in return for these duties that Kshatriya took the taxes and tolls and corvées. The Brahmanas and Shudras served society with their brains and bodies respectively. In every Smriti the duty of the Shudras is stated to be service of the three twice-born castes. The word used is Shoo Shrusha (शुश्रुषा); it means not that the Shudras should be slaves, hewers of wood and drawers of water; it means the doing of such acts as will result in the welfare of the three castes, of the whole body politik. This word exactly occurs in relation to the Brahmanas. Harita says:

> "Teaching is three-fold, for propagation of righteousness, for aquisition of material wealth, and for the service of mankind." (*Harita-Samhita, Ch. I, 19-20, Dutt's Trans.*)

The word 'Shooshrusha' occurs here and it cannot be said that it is used in the sense of serfdom. The Brahmanas who had nothing but their brains to contribute, the Shudras, who had nothing but their bodies to contribute, are thus both enjoined to serve the good interests of the commonwealth by doing brain work and manual work respectively. The Brahmanas were to take $\frac{1}{21}$th part of the produce, besides certain other things, and teach mankind and serve them with their knowledge. (*Parashara, Ch. 2. 14, Dutt's Trans.*) The Shudra was to earn his livelihood by manual labour, latterly also by trade, agriculture or handicraft and to be entitled to protection and guidance. The Shudras in the Smritis appear to be hated and despised and looked down upon as enemies. They appear to have been aliens beyond the Aryan fold, the conquered helots, but in course of time they became amalgamated in the body politik and became entitled to privileges in return for duties. There is apparently a distinct turn in the tide of feelings in their favour, as they inter-married or lived together and became friends of families and so on. It is a most wonderful tale how Shudras became absorbed in the Leviathan.

The Shudras appear to have been the conquered aliens. Harita asks them to serve the three castes, especially the Brahmins, like slaves (दासवत्) (*Harita, Ch. 2. 11, Dutt*). Gautam says, "He shall use their cast-off shoes, umbrellas, garments and mats and eat the remnants of their food." (*Ch. 10. 58. 59, S. B. E.*) He further says:

> "If he listens intentionally to a recitation of the Veda, his ears shall be filled with molten tin or lac, if he recites Vedic texts, his tongue shall be cut out, if he remembers them, his body shall be split in twain, if he assumes a position equal to that of twice-born men in sitting, in lying down, in conversation or on the road, he shall undergo corporal punishment, if he has criminal intercourse with an Aryan woman, his organ shall be cut off and all his property be confiscated." (*Ch. 12. 2-7, S. B. E.*)

And the same Smriti says:

> "The Arya under whose protection he places himself must protect him, even if he becomes unable to work, for him also, are prescribed truthfulness, meekness, and purity, he shall also offer funeral oblations, maintain those depending upon him, live with his wife only and some declare that he himself may offer the Pakyajnas." (*Ch. 10. 51, 53-55, 65, S. B. E.*)

We have seen how Shudra-cooks were employed provided that they shaved their beards and pared their nails. Yama Samhita and Vyas Samhita allow boiled rice of those Shudras who are one's slaves, cow-herds, barbers, family friends and ploughmen, to be eaten. (*Dutt's Trans. Yamsa., 20; Vyas, 3. 47-51.*) From this living together, Shudras went up to even inter-marriage, and hatred and disgust was lessened and old venerable Shudras of good conduct began to be venerated and liked (*Gautum, Ch. 6. 10, S. B. E.*).

The record of the Aryans in India in their treatment of the alien element, is, indeed, not much brighter than the record of other races colliding with their inferiors. Ruthless destruction, lynchings, slavery and all those misdeeds darken the pages everywhere. In fact, the reduction of the high status of women, the rigours of the castes, the pretensions of the Brahmanas, have considerably been due on account of this amalgamation of the Shudras, and the consequent extreme reaction of the orthodox conservative Aryans. Their utmost credit is that they have not done worse than their successors of the modern age and that they compare favourably as against the Spaniards and Portuguese, if not so as against the English and French. It is also true that the precepts of the sages, for good or bad, were observed almost in the breach, and real practice varied considerably from the precepts of Rishis. The Aryans oppressed and maltreated the aliens though the Rishis counselled mercy and fellowship and kindness, and the Aryans inter-married with the Shudras, ate food from their plates, taught them and sacrificed for them, though the orthodox Rishis held up all the horrors of all the hells. Such is indeed the inevitable result of two alien masses of humanity colliding and mixing together. The thinkers of the Smritis, be it to their credit, bowing to the inevitable, relaxed their rigours, thawed and melted, allowed breaches of duties under strict limitations, then narrowed down the limitations, and at last admitted the Shudras to an equality of status and opportunities with rights and duties in the commonwealth, and conferred citizenship strictly dependent on their culture and good conduct alone.

And thus was formed the four-fold order of society. The Vaishyas and Shudras produced wealth, the Kshatriyas protected it, and the Brahmanas guided them in the art of living together by teaching history, philosophy, ethics and religion. And all participated in the produce with regard to services rendered; like members of a household. There was, indeed, prohibition of inter-marriage and inter-dining in the later stages but it has nothing to do with inferiority or superiority of race or blood. Rules of hygiene forbade inter-dining, economics forbade inter-marriages. The absence of inter-marriages has at least effected the purpose of keeping the supply of labour in any one industry outrunning the demand therefor. And thus have been averted the dangers of sweating labour, starving intelligence and hired valour. This economic aspect of the caste-system deserves a detailed discussion. I only allude to it to show that the water-tight compartments of castes in this land is not based on any ideas of inferiority or superiority of race or blood or even culture.

The whole society is looked upon as a happy household, each member doing his best and receiving the maximum of profit. It is significant how Brahmanas take but $\frac{1}{21}$th and the Kshatriyas their $\frac{1}{6}$th, while the humbler orders take more. Each doing his best and getting his due did not satisfy our thinkers. The more powerful and abler members were counselled to take less of the gains; and fondle their weaker fellow-men. The whole society was like a household, working for the common good, under compulsion, at times; always in voluntary co-operation.

(*To be continued*)

D. R. VAIDYA

ESPIONAGE IN THE HINDU SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION

(b)

Activities of spies inside the realm.

In the last section we have tried to give some account of the activities of spies inside the immediate court circle and amongst the high officials of the state. Here we shall try to notice their activities within the state but outside the court. Discussing the activities of the secret agents of the state, in this direction Kauṭilya says :

Gūḍhapuruṣapraṇidhiḥ kṛtamahāmātyāpasarpaḥ paurajānapadānapasarpayet.[1]

(Having set up spies over his *mahāmāyras,* the king shall proceed to espy both citizens and country people).

Sometimes in order to silence treacherous opponents of the king, spies (*satriṇah*) were commissioned to carry on disputations on the merits of the reigning king in *tīrthas, sabhāśālās, pūgas* and amid congregations of people. The burden of their discourses was that 'the king was endowed with all desirable qualities. He was a stranger to all such tendencies (*guṇa*) as would lead him to oppress citizens and country people by heavy fines and taxes. It was the king who saved people from anarchy (*mātsyanyāya*). In him were blended the duties of both Indra and Yama. Whoever disregarded the king, would be visited with divine punishments. Hence the kings should never be despised.'[2] Spies were also employed to know the rumours prevalent in the state (*kiṁvadantīṁ ca vidyuḥ*). Secret agents with shaved heads or braided hair (*muṇḍajāṭila vyañjana*) were required to find out the persons who were contented and those that were discontented. For Kauṭilya says :—'Those that are angry, those that are greedy, those that are alarmed, as well as those that despise the king are the instruments of enemies'.[1] Astrologer and other similar spies (*Kārṭāntikanaimittikamauhūrtikavyñjana*) were directed to find out the relationship of these disaffected persons with foreign kings and all possible steps were taken to put down disaffection 'by conciliation, by gifts, or by sowing dissension, or by punishment.'[2]

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[1] P. 22.

[2] Pp. 22-23.

Besides sedition, other kinds of crimes were also detected by espionage. In the opinion of Kauṭilya there were thirteen different kinds of criminals who secretly attempted to live by foul means (*gūḍhājīvāstrayodaśa*) and destroyed the peace of the country.[3] Spies under the *Samāhartṛ* wearing various disguises tried to detect and bring to justice all these persons of criminal tendencies.[4] In the chapters entitled *Gūḍhājīvināṃ rakṣā* and *Siddhavyañjanairmāṇavaprakāsánam*[5] Kauṭilya gives an interesting description of the activities of the spies in this direction. We give below some examples from these chapters to illustrate the methods followed by the spies of the *Samāhartṛ*.

(*i*) If any person was found to be of foul life, a spy who was acquainted with similar avocations was let loose upon him ; after acquiring friendship with the suspected person who may be either a judge (*Dharmastham*) or a *Pradeṣṭṛ*, the spy may request him that the misfortune in which a friend of the spy is involved may be warded off and that a certain amount of money may be accepted. If the judge or the *Pradeṣṭṛ* acceded to the request he was at once proclaimed as the receiver of bribes and banished. Again, (*ii*) a spy might tell the *Grāmakūṭa* (noblest man in the village) or its *Adhyakṣa* that a wealthy man of wicked character is involved in some trouble and that this opportunity might be availed to squeeze money from him. If either the one or the other complied with the proposal of the spy, he was at once banished for extortion. (*iii*) Under the pretence of having been charged with criminal offence, a spy was often sent to make promises of large sums of money in order to secure false witnesses. If any body agreed to be a false witness he was banished for perjury. (*iv*) Whoever was suspected of manufacturing counterfeit coins, in that, he often purchased various kinds of metals, alkalis, charcoal, bellows, pincers, crucibles, stove and hammers, has his hands and cloth dirty with ashes and smoke, may be requested by a spy to take the latter as an apprentice. If the request was granted, then the criminal was gradually betrayed by his apprentice, and then banished. (*v*) Spies under the guise of old and notorious theives associated themselves with robbers and after gathering full information regarding their past life and present activities caused their arrest and punishment by betraying them to the police.

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[1] Trans. p. 27.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] P. 212.

[4] These spies were disguised as 'persons endowed with supernatural power, persons engaged in penance, ascetics, world trotters, bards, buffoons, mystics, astrologers, prophets foretelling the future, persons capable of reading good or bad time, physicians, lunatics, the dumb, the deaf, idiots, the blind, traders, painters, carpenters, musicians, dancers, vintners, and manufacturers of cakes, flesh and cooked rice...' pp. 210-11, Trans. p. 265.

[5] pp. 210-214.

We have seen that the spies of the *Samāhartṛ* tried to detect the criminal tendency, not only of ordinary offenders, but also of judges , *Pradeṣṭṛ* and petty village officials. From the chapter, *Samāhartṛpracārah Gṛhapativaidehakatāpasavyañ janāḥ praṇidhayaḥ*[1] it appears that he also kept a strict watch on the work of the *Gopas* and *Sthānikas*. His spies under the disguise of cultivators (*gṛhapatika*), merchants (*vaidehaka*) and ascetics (*tāpasa*) ascertained the validity of the accounts of the village and district officers, the quantity and price of royal, and all sorts of foreign merchandise, and gathered information as to the proceedings, honest or dishonest, of cultivators, cowherds, merchants, and heads of government departments. In places where altars were situated, or where four roads met, in ancient ruins, in the vicinity of tanks, rivers, bathing places, in places of pilgrimages and hermitage and in desert tracts, mountains, and thick-grown forests, spies of the *Samāhartṛ* with their assistants, under the guise of notorious thieves carefully ascertained the causes of the arrival and departure of all sorts of criminals.

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[1] pp. 140-43.

In the last paragraph we have given a list of places haunted by spies. But the list does not include the wine shops which were under the observation of the spies of the *Surādhyakṣa*.[1] The liquor shops in the time of Kauṭilya contained 'many rooms provided with beds and seats apart' and 'the drinking room contained scents, garlands of flowers, water (*gandhamālyodaka*) and other comfortable things suitable to the varying seasons.' Spies stationed in these shops ascertained whether the expenditure incurred by customers was ordinary or extraordinary and also whether there were any strangers. They also ascertained the value of the dress, ornaments, and gold (*hiraṇya*) of the persons lying there under intoxication. Merchant-spies (*vanija*) in half closed rooms observed the appearance of local and foreign customers 'who, in real or false guise of *Āryas*, lie down in intoxication along with their beautiful mistresses.'[2]

We have seen that the prostitutes (*gaṇikā*) were employed as the secret agents by the administrative machinery of this period. Every prostitute was compelled to supply information to the *Gaṇikādhyakṣa* as to the amount of her daily fees (*bhoga*), her future income (*āyah*) and the paramour under her influence. Thus the state possessed in its files information about the private character of its citizens and we have no doubt that the politicians of that period used these informations to their advantage. The wives of actors and others of similar profession, who had been taught various languages and the use of signals (*Saṁjñābhāṣāntarajñāsca*), were employed in detecting and murdering foreign spies.[1]

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[1] Pp. 119-20.

[2] Trans. 148.

In the chapter entitled *Vāhyāntarāścāpadaḥ*,[2] Kauṭilya reveals another sphere of the activity of the spies. In this chapter the author describes the various *āpadas* (dangers), and formulates schemes to get rid of them. The policy, followed by the spies, in this direction is again not strictly moral. An example will, I hope, make the point clear. Thus, when foreigners carried on intrigue with foreigners or local men with local men, Kauṭilya advises the king to employ the policy of dissension and coercion (*bhedadaṇḍa*). He says "Spies (*satriṇo*) under the guise of friends may inform the foreigners : 'Mind, this man is desirous of deceiving you with the help of his own spies who are disguised as traitors.' Spies under the guise of traitors may mix with the traitors and separate them or foriegners from local traitors. *Tīkṣṇa* spies may make friendship with traitors and kill them with the assistance of *sastra* and *rasa*, or having invited the plotting foreigners they may murder the latter."

In times of great financial difficulties, spies were employed by the government to secure financial assistance. The chapter on *Kośābhisaṁharaṇam*,[3] contains some interesting example of the activities of the espionage department in this direction. Even our present governments open subcription lists, to collect money, to meet some sudden calamities such as famine or flood. But it is not known whether in these days the government follows the tactics of the *Kauṭilīyan* state. The *Arthaśāstra* says that in these cases ' Persons taken in concert shall publicly pay' handsome donations and with this example, the king may demand similar sums of others among his subjects. Spies, paying as citizens shall revile those who pay less. Other examples of the activities of the secret emissaries in a state, stricken with financial difficulties, are given below.

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[1] P. 125.

[2] P. 352 *et seq.*

[3] P. 242 ff.

(1) "Spies under the guise of sorcerers, shall under the pretence of ensuring safety, carry away the 'money not only of *Pāśaṇḍa saṅghas*, but also of a dead man (*pretasya*), of temples (*devadravyaṁ*)' and of a man whose house is burnt (*dagdhagṛhasya*), provided that it is not enjoyable by a learned Brāhmaṇa (*śrotriya*)."

(2) "Spies may call upon spectators to see a serpent with numberless heads in a well connected with a subterranean passage and collect fees from them for the sight, or they may place in a borehole made in the body of an image of a serpent, or in a hole in the corner of a temple, or in the hollow of an ant-hill, a cobra, which is, by diet, rendered unconscious, and call upon credulous spectators to see it (on payment of a certain amount of fee). As to persons who are not by nature credulous, spies may sprinkle over or give a drink of such sacred water as is mixed with anaesthetic ingredients and attribute this insensibility to the curse of gods."

(3) "One of the king's spies in the garb of a merchant may become a partner of a rich merchant and carry on trade in concert with him. As soon as a considerable amount of money has been gathered as sale proceeds, deposits and loans, he may cause himself to be robbed of the amount."

(4) "Prostitute spies under the garb of chaste women (*Sāddhīvyañjanābhiḥ*) may cause themselves to be enamoured of persons who are seditious. No sooner are the seditious persons seen within the abode of the female spies than they shall be seized and their property confiscated to the government."

(5) "A spy, under the garb of a servant of a seditious person, may mix counterfeit coins with the wages (he has received from his master), and pave the way for his arrest."

These above examples, I am sure, will give an idea of the questionable tactics followed by the States during this period when they met with financial difficulties. But Kauṭilya adds that the measures should be taken only against the seditious and the wicked and never against others.

Evaṁ duṣyeṣvadhārmikeṣu ca vartet netareṣu [1]

Spies were also used in Kauṭilya's time in declaring the omniscient power of the king. In the chapter on *Upajāpaḥ* he gives some concrete examples of the methods employed by the kings of his time to gain this end. Secret agents disguised as *Nāgas* and gods were made to rise from water and declare the association of the king with gods. Similar declarations were also made by spies who pretending to be gods, and entering through a tunnel, suddenly stood in the midst of fire, altar or in the interior of hollow images.

The Epics and the Post-Kauṭilyan literature also contain many references to espionage within the state. In the *Mahābhārata* Kaṇika advises Dhṛtarāṣtra to appoint spies in *udyāna, vihāra, devatāyatana, pānāgāra, tīrtha, catvara, kūpa, parvata* and *vana.* The *Agnipurāṇa*,[2] also alludes to similar activities of the secret agents. While the *Śukranīti* advises the king to secretly gather informations through spies 'as to who are accusing his conduct' and in what light the people are viewing his administration.[3] The *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* mentions spies who assuming various disguises went about in all directions appraising themselves of the opinion of the world.[4]

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[1] P. 246.

[2] Chap. 220, Verse 20-22.

[3] I, 130-133.

[4] XII, 26,

In the *Uttararāmacarita* Rāma appoints a spy on the *paurajānapadas.* In the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* secret agents are engaged by Kauṭilya to find out the friends of *Rākṣasa,* in the city of Pāṭaliputra, and gather the opinion of the citizens. The *Mṛcchakaṭika* also contains a reference to such activities of the spies at the end of the seventh act.

(c)

Activities of spies in foreign states in war and peace.

In ancient India as in modern days the activities of the spies in foreign states, formed a most important part of the duties of the Espionage Department. As early as the Vedic period we seem to have indications of the activities of spies in this direction. Writing in his *Evolution of Indian Polity,* Dr. Shama Sastri observes that spies were used in the Vedic period to gather information 'as to the movements of tribal settlements of inimical tendency or disposition.' Kauṭilya as usual gives us a full description[1] of the activities of the spies in this sphere. He advocates the employment of secret agents in the states of the 'kings who are inimical, friendly, intermediate, of low rank or neutral and with regard to their eighteen government departments :—

> *Evaṁ śatrau ca mitre ca madhyame cāvapeccarān*
> *udāsīne ca teṣāṁ ca tīrtheṣṭādaśasvāpi.*[2]

He advises the king to send *dūtas* and spies to reside in each of the states composing the circle (*maṇḍala*) and with their assistance to destroy the strength of his enemies.

> *Kṛtsne ca maṇḍale nityaṁ dūtān gūdhāṁsca vāsayet*
> *mitrabhūtassapatnānāṁ hatvā hatvā ca saṁvṛtaḥ.*[3]

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[1] P. 126.
[2] P. 21.
[3] P. 305.

After making these general observations Kauṭilya next supplies us with the details of the working of the system. He proposes to place the following spies in the houses of the foreign kings and their eighteen high officials :—

Antagṛhacarāsteṣāṁ kuvjavāmanaṣaṇḍakāḥ
silpavatyaḥ striyo mūkāścitrāśca mlecchaḥjātayaḥ.[1]

(The hump-backed, the dwarf, the eunuch, women of accomplishments, the dumb, and various grades of *Mleccha* caste shall be spies inside their houses.)

Further, he suggests that the merchant spies (*vanijasaṁsthā*) should be placed inside forts; the cultivators and the recluse (*karṣakodāsthitā*) in country parts (*rāṣṭre*) ; saints and ascetics (*siddhatāpasāḥ*) in the suburbs of forts (*durgānte*); herdsmen (*vrajavāsinaḥ*) in the boundaries of the country (*rāṣṭrānte*) ; and the forest-dwellers (*vanacharaiḥ*), *śramanas, āṭavikas* in the forests to ascertain the movements of enemies.

There are numerous notices in the *Arthāśastra* as to the varied nature of the duties and activities of these secret agents. Spies were employed to find out the treacherous tendencies of foreign states and when these were discovered the secret agents were employed in carrying on *tuṣṇī yuddha* (silent battle) without an open violation of peace.[2] Under the pretence of friendship the spies employed in these states as the servants of the reigning kings and nobles used to take steps to slay their general or in other ways cause trouble (*senāmukyyavadhaḥ maṇḍalaprotsāhanaṁ*).[3] For instance, they sometimes declared that the king was very angry with the generals and officers of the infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephant divisions ; when these officers came to see them confidentially, they were murdered by *Tīkṣṇa* spies and it was given out that they were done to death by the angry king. Spies serving as personal servants of these enemy kings often informed them that their *mahāmāyras* were guilty of high treason and they were being interviewed by foreign agents. *Āṭavikas* or forest tribes were seduced with rewards of wealth and honour to devastate the enemy's countries and disaffection was spread in their military forces. A son of the *Senāmukhya*, for instance, might be informed "You are the most worthy son; still you are neglected; why are you indifferent? Seize your position by force; otherwise the *Yuvarāja* will destroy you." A person who had requested a boon from the ruler and was disappointed was informed that the officer in charge of waste lands (*Śūnyapāla*) had been told by the king "such and such a person has begged of me what he should not demand; I refused to grant his request; he is in conspiracy with the enemy. So make attempts to put him down." The man who had received all that he wanted from the king and was contended was told, "Look here, the king has granted you your request only to gain your confidence. He has been informed that you are guilty of high treason and he has directed the *Śūnyapāla* to put you down." Persons probably of a retiring disposition who never asked for their dues from the king were informed that 'the king has directed the *Śūnyapāla* to punish you' for he thinks "such and such persons do not demand their dues from me. What else can be the reason than their suspicion about my knowledge of their guilt." All these men were then induced to meet the spies in some secret place and murdered and it was given out that they had all fallen victims to their king's anger.

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[1] P. 21. See also pp. 388-89.

[2] P. 280. *Mantrayuddha*, p 384.

[3] P. 386.

These are some of the many activities of the spies which were undertaken to create trouble and disaffection in inimically disposed states without openly violating peaceful relations. In the chapter entitled *Mantrayuddham*[1] Kauṭilya gives an account of the steps that were taken by the Espionage Department of a weak state against a powerful enemy state which, though repeatedly approached by the *dūtas* of the former, refuses to maintain friendly relations and becomes openly hostile. Kauṭilya in these cases advises the creation of disaffection (*prakṛtikopa*) in the enemy's territory by the free use of *tīkṣṇa* and *rasada*—spies. A few examples from the *Arthaśāstra* are given below to show the nature of the activities of these spies.

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[1] Pp. 384-86.

(*a*) " Keepers of harlots (*Vandhakīpoṣakāḥ*) should excite love in the minds of the leaders of the enemy's army by exhibiting women endowed with youth and beauty (*paramarūpayauvanābhiḥ strībhissenāmūkhyānunmādayeyuḥ*). *Tīkṣṇa* spies should bring about quarrels among them when one or two of them have fallen in love. In the affray that ensues they should prevail upon the defeated party to migrate elsewhere or to proceed to help the master (of the spies) in the invasion undertaken by the latter. Or, to those who have fallen in love, *Siddhavyañjana* spies may administer poison under the plea that the medical drugs given to them are capable of securing the object of love."

(*b*) " A spy under the guise of a merchant (*Vaidehakavyañjana*) may under the plea of winning the love of an immediate maid-servant of the beautiful queen (of the enemy), shower wealth upon her and then give her up. A spy in the service of the merchant spy may give to another spy employed as a servant of the maid-servant, some medical drug, telling the latter that (in order to regain the love of the merchant), the drug may be applied to the person of the merchant (by the maid-servant). On her attaining success (the maid-servant) may inform the queen that some drug may be applied to the person of the king (to secure his love), and change the drug for poison. "

(*c*) " A spy under the guise of an astrologer, (*Kārtāntikavyañjana*) may gradually delude the enemy's *Mahāmātra* with the belief that he is possessed of all the physiognomical characteristics of a king ; a *bhikṣukī* spy may tell the minister's wife that she has the characteristics of a queen (*rājaputrī*) and that she will bring forth a prince (*rāja-putra-prasavinī*) ; or a woman disguised as the *Mahāmātra's* wife (*bhāryāvyañjana*) may tell him that 'The king is troubling me and an ascetic woman brought me this letter and jewellery'."

In times of warfare the spies formed a very important adjunct to the forces of the belligerent states. They were employed to destroy the supply, stores and graneries of the enemy and generally to work havoc in the enemy's capital and army with weapons, fire, and poison. Secret agents disguised as vintners (*śuṇḍikavyañjana*) were sometimes directed to distribute 'hundreds of vessels of liquor (*madya-kumbha*) mixed with the juice of *madana* plant' and poison, to the officers of the enemy's army. Others who assumed the appearance of cooks and traders in cooked food, sold articles mixed with poison to the enemy, who might be attracted by the good quality and cheapness of the goods. Poisoned grass and drink was sold by them to the servants of the beasts of burden of the enemy while others, disguised as hunters, cowherds etc., created all sorts of disturbance in the enemy's camp.[1] Secret agents were also sometimes directed to kill the generals of the enemy's army from behind or set fire to the residences of the enemy king. Herds of cattle, sheep or goats were placed in such a position as to divert the attention of the hostile forces. Sometimes the spies taking advantage of the darkness of night, when the enemy forces were out fighting, entered the enemy's capital and murdered the hostile king. In times of siege of the forts the spies helped the besiegers in capturing them. Kauṭilya gives the following account of these activities of the spies :[2]

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[1] P. 390.

[2] *Apasarpapranidhi,* p. 400 ff.

"Spies, disguised as hunters, may take their stand near the gate of the enemy's fort to sell flesh, and make friendship with the sentinels at the gate. Having informed the enemy of the arrival of thieves on two or three occasions, they may prove themselves to be of reliable character and cause him to split his army into two divisions and to station them in two different parts of his territory. When his villages are being plundered or besieged, they may tell him that thieves are come very near, that the tumult is very great, and that a large army is required. They may take the army supplied, and surrendering it to the commander laying waste the villages, return at night with a part of the commander's army, and cry aloud at the gate of the fort that the theives are slain, that the army has returned victorious, and that the gate may be opened. When the gate is opened by the watchmen under the enemy's order or others in confidence they may strike the enemy with the help of the army."

"Painters, carpenters, heretics, actors, merchants, and other disguised spies belonging to the conquerors' army may also reside inside the fort of the enemy. Spies, disguised as agriculturists, may supply them with weapons taken in carts loaded with firewood, grass, grains and other commodities of commerce, or disguised as images and flags of gods. Then spies, disguised as priests, may announce to the enemy, blowing their conchshell and beating their drums, that a beseiging army, eager to destroy all, and armed with weapons, is coming closely behind them. Then in the ensuing tumult, they may surrender the fort-gate and the towers of the fort to the army of the conqueror or disperse the enemy's army and bring about his fall."[5]

Before concluding this section of the activities of the spies from the *Arthaśāstra* notice should be made of a very brief account of the work of the spies in the autonomous non-monarchical states of the *Kauṭilīyan* period.[1] We know from

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[1] *Saṅghavṛttam*, pp. 378—382.

Buddhistic literature that the monarchical states of North-eastern India, at least in Buddha's time, followed a systematic policy, which sought to destroy the independence and power of the tribal republics. Viḍuḍābha, King of Kosala, destroyed the Sākyas while Ajātaśatru King of Magadha, aided by his Brahman minister Vassakāra, brought about the downfall of the Vajjians. In the *Kauṭilīya* also, we find the *Vijigīṣu* aiming at the mastery of the *saṅghas* (*Saṅgheṣvevamekarāja*) with the assistance of all the resources which a Machiavellian diplomacy could suggest. Unity and concord were the life breaths of all these political *saṅghas.* And in the *Kauṭilīya*, the activities of the spies are specially directed to destroy this cohesion of the political corporations. An account of these activities from the *Arthaśāstra* is given below in order to give an idea of the methods of sowing dissension amongst these Non-monarchical states. Kauṭilya says:—

"Spies, gaining access to all these corporations and finding out jealousy, hatred and other causes of quarrel among them, should sow the seeds of a well-planned dissension among them, and tell one of them: 'This man decries you.' Spies under the guise of teachers (*ācārya*) should cause childish embroils among those of mutual enmity on occasions of disputations about certain points of science, arts, gambling or sports. *Fiery* spies may occasion quarrel among the leaders of corporations by praising inferior leaders in taverns and theatres; or pretending to be friends, they may excite ambition in the minds of princes by praising their high birth, though (the princes) are low born; they may prevent the superiors from interdining and intermarriage with others; they may persuade the superiors to interdine or intermarry with inferiors; or they may give publicity to the consideration of priority shown to inferior persons in social intercourse in the face of established custom of recognising the status of other persons by birth, bravery and social position; or *Fiery* spies may bring about quarrel among them at night by destroying the things, beasts or persons concerned in some legal disputes. In all these disputes the conqueror should help the inferior party with men and money and set them against the superior party. When they are divided, he should remove them (from their country); or he may gather them together and cause them to settle in a cultivable part of their own country,..................... ....keepers of harlots or dancers, players, and actors may after gaining access, excite love in the minds of the chiefs of corporation by exhibiting women endowed with bewitching youth and beauty. By causing the woman to go to another person or by pretending that another person has violently carried her off, they may bring about quarrel among those who love that woman; in the ensuing affray, *Fiery* spies may do their work and declare 'Thus has he been killed in consequence of his love' ....A spy may tell the chief of a corporation (*Saṅghamukhyam*) who is fond of women (*strilolupam*): 'In this village, the family of a poor man is bereaved (of the house holder); his wife deserves to be the wife of a king; seize her; half a month after she has been seized an *Ascetic* spy (*Siddhavyañjana*) may accuse the chief in the midst of the corporation by saying: 'This man has illegally kept my chief wife or sister-in-law, or sister, or daughter.' If the *saṅgha* punishes the chief, the conqueror may take side of the chief and set it against wicked persons. *Tikṣṇa* spies should always cause an *Ascetic* spy to go abroad at night. Spies selected suitably, should accuse (the chiefs) by saying: 'This man is the slayer of a Brāhman and also the adulterer of a Brahman woman.................Thus in these and other kinds of brawls which have originated themselves or which have been brought about by spies the conqueror should always help the inferior party with men and money and set themselves against the wicked or cause them to migrate."[1]

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[1] *Ibid*, pp. 378 et. seq.

In the Epics and the Post-epic literature also, there are many notices to the activities of secret agents in foreign lands. We have already drawn attention to the *Rāmāyaṇic* passage where Rāma asks Bharata whether he was watching the eighteen *tīrthas* of foreign countries (*anyeṣu*) through spies (*cāraṇai*).[1] In the *Laṅkākāṇḍa*[2] we meet with a spy of Rāvaṇa:—

cāro Rākṣasarājasya Rāvaṇasya durātmanaḥ.

He was named Śārdula (*Śārdula nāma vīryavān*), and he visited the camp of Rāma when the latter was still on the mainland of India, and making preparations to cross over to Laṅkā. He inspected the Vānara hosts led by Sugrīva (*Sugrīvenābhipālitam*) and hurrying back to Laṅkā submitted a report to the demon king. Thereupon Rāvaṇa sent Śuka who is described as *Vākyamarthavidyāni varaṁ* to win over Sugrîva. Suka was, however, arrested by the Vānara forces and was about to be killed when he appealed to Rāma and claimed to be a *dūta*. He said:—

Na dūtān ghnanti kākutṣtha vāryatām sādhu vānarāḥ.

But Aṅgada is not convinced that he is not a spy and says:—

Nāyaṁ dūto mahāprājña cārakaḥ pratibhāti me.
Tulitaṁ hi valaṁ sarvamanena tava tiṣṭhatā
gṛhyatām māgamallaṅkāmetaddhi mama rocate.

He suspects that he was a spy who was sent from Laṅkā to make an estimate (*tulitam*) of the forces of Rāma and orders the re-arrest of Śuka but Rāma accepts Śuka's contention that he is a *dūta* and, therefore, orders his release (*muchyatāṁ dūta āgataḥ*). Śuka, however, was detained till the army of

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[1] *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, chapter 100, 36.

[2] Chapter 20.

Rāma was fully mobilised and had crossed to the opposite shore. When the news of the invasion of Laṅkā reached Rāvaṇa, he called his *amātyas* Śuka and Sāraṇa and said:—

Samagraṁ sāgaraṁ tīrṇaṁ dustaram vānaraṁ valam
abhūtapūrvaṁ Rāmeṇa sāgare setuvandhanam.
Sāgare setuvandhaṁ tam na śraddadhyāṁ kathañcana
avaśyañcāpi saṅkhyeyaṁ tanmayā vānaraṁ valaṁ.
Bhavantau vānaraṁ sainyaṁ praviśyānupalakṣitau
parimānañca vīryañca ye ca mukhyāḥ plavaṅgamāḥ.
Mantriṇo ye ca Rāmasya Sugrīvasya ca saṅgtāḥ
ye pūrvamabhivartante ye ca śūraḥ plāvaṁgamaḥ.
Sa ca seturyathā vaddhaḥ sāgare salilārṇave
niveśañca yathā teṣāṁ vānarāṇām mahātmanām.
Rāmasya vyavasāyañca vīryam praharaṇāni ca
Lakṣaṇasya ca vīrasya tattvato jñātumarhathaḥ.
Kaśca senāpatisteṣām vānarāṇāṁ mahaujasām
tacca jñātvā yathātattvaṁ śīghramāgantumarhathaḥ[1]

At this command of the demon king[1] Śuka and Sāraṇa assumed the disguise of *vānaras* and entered the camp of Rāma—

Iti pratisamādiṣṭau Rākṣasau Śukasāraṇau
harirūpadharau vīrau praviṣṭau vānaram valaṁ.

But unfortunately for them, when they were roaming about the camp of Rāma they were observed by Vibhīṣaṇa:

Tau dadarśa mahatejāḥ praticchanau Vibhīṣaṇaḥ
ācacakṣe sa Rāmāya gṛhitvā Śukasāraṇau.
Tasyaitau rā*kṣasendrasya mantriṇau Śukasāraṇau*
Laṇkāyāḥ samanuprāptau cārau parapurañjaya.

When they were arrested and placed before Rāma, they gave up all hopes of life and confessed that they were sent by Rāvaṇa to spy on his forces, camp, weapons and equipment.

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[1] P.,Chapter 25. 2-8.

Tau driṣṭā vyathitau Rāmaṁ nirāśau jīvite tathā
kritāñjaliputāu bhītau vacanañcedamūcatuḥ.
Avāmihāgatau saumya Rāvaṇa prahitāvubhau
parijñātum valaṁ sarvaṁ tavedaṁ Raghunandana.

Śuka did not apparently expect mercy this time and his attitude is a contrast to his eloquent pleading when he was arrested by Sugrīva on the mainland of India. It appears from the statement of Aṅgada that the *cāras* who came for information in the enemy's camp were at least imprisoned, if not killed, as in present times.[1] Rāma, however, spared the life of the ministers. But his statement that :—

nyastaśastrau gṛhītau ca na dūtau vadhamarhathaḥ.

indicates a considerable confusion of ideas. Apparently Rāma or the poet could not distinguish between a *dūta* and a *pracchanna cāra.* The former came openly as a bearer of message of the opposite camp. *Kṛṣṇa* was a *dūta* from the Pāṇḍava camp to the Kurus, so was probably Śuka when he came as a messenger from Rāvaṇa to Sugrīva. But here he comes as a *cāra* and not as a *dūta*—as a military spy and not as an envoy; his object was to secure information secretly and clandestinely.

In the *Mahābhārata* also, the *Sabhāparva*[2] refers to the espionage of the eighteen departments of the foreign kings. In the *Ādiparva*[3] Kaṇika says :—

Cāraḥ suvihitaḥ kārya ātmanaśca parasyavā
pāṣaṇḍāṁstāpasādīṁśca pararāṣtresu yojayet.
Udyāneṣu vihāreṣu devatāyataneṣu ca pānāgāreṣu
rathyāsu sarvatīrtheṣu cāpyatha.
Catvareṣu kūpeṣu parvateṣu vaneṣu ca
samavāyeṣu sarveṣu saritsu ca vicārayet.

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[1] Chap 20, verses 29-31 ; *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* Eleventh Ed., Vol. XXV, pp. 743.
[2] II, 5, 38.
[3] I, 140, 63-65.

He thus advocates espionage in *pararāṣṭra* or foreign states. In the *Virāṭaparva* we find Duryodhana's spies in foreign lands (*vahiścerāḥ*), returning to submit reports to their king.

Atha vai Dhārtarāṣṭreṇa prayuktā. ye vahiścarāh
mṛgayitvā vahūn grāmān rāṣṭrāṇi nagarāṇi ca.
Saṁvidhāya yathā dṛṣṭaṁ yathādeśa pradarśanam
kṛtakṛtyā nyavarttanta carā nāgapuram prati.[1]

These spies were sent to find out the whereabouts of the Pāṇḍavas. After returning from their travels to the Kuru Court they said :

Carā ūcuḥ.—kṛtoḥsmābhiḥ paro yatnasteṣāmanveṣaṇe sadā
Pāṇḍavānāṁ manuṣyendra tasmin mahati kānane.
Nirjjane mṛgasaṅkīrṇe nānādrumalatāvṛte
latāpratānavahule nānāgulma samākule.
Na ca vidmo gatā yena Pārthāḥ sudṛḍhavikramāḥ
māgamānāḥ padanyāsaṁ teṣu teṣu tathā tathā.
Girikūṭeṣu durgeṣu nānājanapadeṣu ca
janākīrṇeṣu deśeṣu kharvaṭeṣu pureṣu ca.
Narendra vahuśohnvistā naiva vidmaścha Pāndavān
atyantam vā vinaṣṭāste bhadraṁ tubhyam nararṣabha.[2]

But though the spies could not trace the Pāṇḍavas yet they brought one welcome news, *viz.*, the death of the dreaded Kīchaka, the general of the Pañchālas. Karṇa, however, advises Duryodhan to send more spies to foreign lands.

He says :

Athāvratīttataḥ Karṇaḥ kṣipraṁ gacchantu Bhārata
anye dhūrtatarā dakṣā nibhṛtāḥ sādhukariṇaḥ.
Carantu deśān saṁvītāḥ ṣphītān janapadākulān
tatra goṣṭhīṣu ramyāsu siddhapravrajiteṣu ca
paricāreṣu tīrtheṣu vividheṣvākareṣu ca
vijñātavyā manuṣyaiste tarkayā suvinītayā.

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[1] 25, 5-6.

[2] *Ibid*, 9-13.

Vividhaistatparai samyak tajjñairnipuṇasamvṛtaiḥ
anvyeṣṭavyāḥ sunipuṇai Pāṇḍavaścchannavāsinaḥ.
Nadīkuñjeṣu tīrtheṣu grāmeṣu nagareṣu ca
āśrameṣu ca ramyeṣu parvateṣu guhāṣu ca.[1]

Both the above quotations show how thorough and wide were the activities of the spies in foreign countries. No place was safe from them. Even the royal harems, as we have seen in the *Kauṭilīya*, could not be protected against their penetration. Bhisma's spies found out that the child of a neighbouring ruler who was being brought up as a son was not a male child.

Mama tvetaccarāstāt yathāvat pratyavedayan
jaḍondhavadhirākārā ye yuktā Drupade mayā
Evameṣa mahārāja strīpumān Drupadātmajaḥ
sa sambhūtaḥ kuruśreṣṭha Śikhaṇḍī rathasattamaḥ.[2]

Yet this piece of news, as we have seen, was unknown to all the people of the capital of the Pañcāla kingdom except Drupada and his queen.

Cakāra sarvayatnena vruvāṇā putra ityuta
na ca tāṁ veda nagare kaścidanyatra pārṣatāt.[3]

This should, no doubt, be considered as a proof of the great efficiency of the espionage work done by the spies of the epic period, in foreign lands.

Kāmandaka also refers to espionage in foreign countries. The *Nītisāra* says:

"A king should have all his and his enemy's dominions pervaded with spies who resemble the sun in energy and the wind in their movements and whose selection is approved of by the public."[4]

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[1] *Ibid*, 26. 8-12.

[2] *Udyogaparva*, 194, 62-63.

[3] *Ibid*, 190, 17.

[4] XII, 29. (Translated by M. Dutt.)

"Spies skilled in studying the hearts of men, should be posted in the territory of all kings who are within the *maṇḍala* of the *vijigīṣu* or that of his enemy."[1]

"A *Tikṣṇa*, a religious mendicant, a sacrificer or a person of purest character—these are the disguises (under which spies roam through a king's *maṇḍala*; when they (the spies) are thus disguised, they do not recognise one another."[2]

Manu also advises the king to ascertain his enemy's strength by means of espionage.

Cāreṇotsāhayogena kriyāyaiva ca karmaṇām
svaśaktiṁ paraśaktim ca nityaṁ vidyānmahīpatiḥ.[3]

Bhāravi's *Kirātarjjunīyam* contains some interesting references to these activities of the spy. Yudhiṣṭhira was staying with his brothers in the *Dvaitavana.* He wanted to secure reliable information about Duryodhana's administration before he could determine his future policy. So he sent a *vaṇecara* (hunter) as his spy to the Kuru land. In the first canto of the *Kirāt* we find this secret agent submitting a detailed report of his activities to Yudhiṣṭhira. He not only secured information on the general administration of the Kuru country but it appears from the following verse that he tried to know something about the military strength of Duryodhana as well:—

Mahaujaso mānadhanā dhanārccitāh,
dhanurbhṛtaḥ saṁyati lavdhakírttayaḥ.
Nasaṁhatāstasya nabhinnavṛttayaḥ,
priyāṇi vāñchantyasubhiḥ samīhitum.[4]

The *Mṛcchakaṭika,* however, probably contains the best account of espionage in foreign countries. I have already remarked in a previous chapter that the drama while proposing to describe a fight between Candragupta and Malayaketu really describes a battle of intrigue carried on by spies. Rākṣasa sends Virādhagupta as his spy to the city of Pāṭaliputra to collect information. The task is performed by the agent in the disguise of a snake-charmer. We know from the report submitted by Virādhagupta that Rākṣasa set on foot schemes 'to set dissension betweeen Candragupta and his followers.' One of these schemes was the appointment of the minstrel Stanakalasa to kindle the wrath of the Maurya monarch by 'stanzas well designed, yet covert in expression' by informing him that 'Chānakya contravenes his high commands and spurns the king's authority.' But, unfortunately for Rākṣasa, these motives were revealed to Kauṭilya by the latters' spies who took adequate steps to counteract them. All the attempts of Rākṣasa to poison or kill Candragupta proved ineffective. On one occasion Abhayadatta, the learned physician and spy of Rākṣasa, had concocted a poison draught which would have been administered,

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[1] *Ibid*, 37.

[2] *Ibid*, 34.

[3] IX, 298.

[4] I, 19.

'but Chanakya,
In pouring it into a golden goblet,
Observed the colour change, and thus detected
The venomous mixture—then forbidding
The prince to taste it, ordered the physician
To swallow his own dose—and thus he died.'

The attempts of another spy of Rākṣasa, the Chamberlain Pramodaka, met with no better success. For the sums that Rākṣasa had entrusted to his charge

'He lavished with unbounded prodigality,
Till such expenditure drew observation.
He answered incoherently the questions
Put to him as to his immense possessions,
And thus suspicion gaining confidence,
He was condemned, by order of Chānakya,
To suffer cruel death.'

Kauṭilya on his part sent his own spies to the court and camp of Malayaketu, and we are told that

> ' The prince Malayaketu is enclosed with toils.
> That only wait the signal to secure him
> And Rākṣasa himself is close surrounded
> By friends supposed, in truth my spies and creatures.'

As a result of these state of things when the armies of Malayaketu advanced on Pāṭaliputra, suspicion and distrust prevailed between Malayaketu and Rākṣasa. Soon after Rākṣasa is degraded and dismissed and all the friendly princes were murdered by Malayaketu who is then imprisoned by Bhadrabhaṭa, a spy of Chāṇakyá, who according to a preconcerted plan had deserted Chandragupta and joined the son of Parvataka. All these are the work of a well directed espionage system and one wonders at the efficiency and intricacy of the system evolved by the politicians of this period of Indian history.

(*Concluded*)

HEMCHANDRA RAY

THE PHILOSOPHY OF OUR PEOPLE.*

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My timidity makes it difficult for me properly to enjoy the honour you have done me to-day by offering a chair which I cannot legitimately claim as my own. It has often made me wonder, since I had my invitation, whether it would suit my dignity to occupy such a precarious position on an ephemeral eminence, deservedly incurring anger from some and ridicule from others. While debating in my mind as to whether I should avoid this risk with the help of the doctor's certificate, it occurred to me that possibly my ignorance of philosophy was the best recommendation for this place in a philosophers' meeting,—that you wanted for your president a man who was blankly neutral and who consciously owed no allegiance to any particular system of metaphysics, being impartially innocent of them all. The most convenient thing about me is that the degree of my qualification is beyond the range of a comparative discussion,—it is so utterly negative. In my present situation, I may be compared to a candlestick that has none of the luminous qualities of a candle and, therefore, suitable for its allotted function, which is to remain darkly inactive.

But, unfortunately, you do not allow me to remain silent even in the circumstance when silence was declared to be prudent by one of our ancient sages. The only thing which encourage me to overcome my diffidence, and give expression in a speech to my unsophisticated mind, is the fact that in India all the *vidyás*,—poesy as well as philosophy,—live in a joint family. They never have the jealous sense of individualism maintaining the punitive regulations against trespass that seem to be so rife in the West.

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* Presidential Address delivered at the First Indian Philosophical Congress at the Senate House, December 19, 1925.

Plato as a philosopher decreed the banishment of poets from his ideal Republic. But, in India, philosophy ever sought alliance with poetry, because its mission was to occupy the people's life and not merely the learned seclusion of scholarship. Therefore, our tradition, though unsupported by historical evidence, has no hesitation in ascribing numerous verses to the great Shankarāchārya, a metaphysician whom Plato would find it extremely difficult to exclude from his Utopia with the help of any inhospitable Immigration Law. Many of these poems may not have high poetical value, but no lover of literature ever blames the sage for infringement of propriety in condescending to manufacture verse.

According to our people, poetry naturally falls within the scope of a philosopher, when his reason is illumined into a vision. We have our great epic Mahábhárata, which is unique in world literature, not only because of the marvellous variety of human characters, great and small, discussed in its pages in all variety of psychological circumstances, but because of the ease with which it carries in its comprehensive capaciousness all kinds of speculation about ethics, politics and philosophy of life. Such an improvident generosity on the part of poesy, at the risk of exceeding its own proper limits of accommodation, has only been possible in India where a spirit of communism prevails in the different individual groups of literature. In fact, the Mahábhárata is a universe in itself in which various spheres of mind's creation find ample space for their complex dance-rhythm. It does not represent the idiosyncrasy of a particular poet but the normal mentality of the people who are willing to be led along the many branched path of a whole world of thoughts, held together in a gigantic orb of narrative surrounded by innumerable satellites of episodes.

The numerous saints that India successively produced during the Mahomedan rule have all been singers whose verses are aflame with the fire of imagination. Their religious emotion had its spring in the depth of a philosophy that deals with fundamental questions,—with the ultimate meaning of existence. That may not be remarkable in itself ; but when we find that these songs are not specially meant for some exclusive pundits' gathering, but that they are sung in villages and listened to by men and women who are illiterate, we realise how philosophy has permeated the life of the people in India, how it has sunk deep into the subconscious mind of the country.

In my childhood I once heard from a singer, who was a devout Hindu, the following song of Kabir :

পানীমে মীন পিয়াসী রে,
মুকো সুনত সুনত লাগে হাসী রে।
পূরন ব্রহ্ম সকল ঘট বরতে, ক্যা মথুরা ক্যা কাশী রে॥

When I hear of a fish in the water dying of thirst, it makes me laugh.
If it be true that the infinite Brahma pervades all space,
What is the meaning of the places of pilgrimage like Mathurá or Káshí ?

This laughter of Kabir did not hurt in the least the pious susceptibilities of the Hindu singer ; on the contrary, he was ready to join the poet with his own. For he, by the philosophical freedom of his mind, was fully aware that Mathurá or Káshí, as sites of God, did not have an absolute value of truth, though they had their symbolical importance. Therefore, while he himself was eager to make a pilgrimage to those places, he had no doubt in his mind that, if it were in his power directly to realise Brahma as an all-pervading reality, there would have been no necessity for him to visit any particular place for the quickening of his spiritual consciousness. He acknowledged the psychological necessity for such shrines, where generations of devotees have chosen to gather for the purpose of worship, in the same way as he felt the special efficacy for our mind of the time-honoured sacred texts made living by the voice of ages.

It is a village poet of East Bengal who in his songs preaches the philosophical doctrine that the universe has its reality in its relation to the Person. He sings :

মম আঁখি হইতে পয়দা আসমান জমীন

The sky and the earth are born of mine own eyes.

শরীর করিল পয়দা শক্ত আর নরম,
আর পয়দা করিয়াছে ঠাণ্ডা আর গরম।
নাকে পয়দা করিয়াছে খুববয় বদবয়।

The hardness and softness, the cold and the heat
are the products of mine own body ;
The sweet smell and the bad are of mine own nose.

This poet sings of the Eternal Person within him, coming out and appearing before his eyes just as the Vedic Rishi speaks of the Person, who is in him, dwelling also in the heart of the Sun.

রূপ দেখিলাম রে, নয়নে আপনার রূপ দেখিলাম রে।
আমার মাঝত বাহির হইয়া দেখা দিল আমারে।

I have seen the vision,
The vision of mine own revealing itself,
Coming out from within me.

The significant fact about these philosophical poems is that they are of rude construction, written in a popular dialect and disclaimed by the academic literature ; they are sung to the people, as composed by one of them who is dead, but whose songs have not followed him. Yet these singers almost arrogantly disown their direct obligation to philosophy, and there is a story of one of our rural poets who, after some learned text of the Vaishnava philosophy of emotion was explained to him, composed a song containing the following lines :

ফুলের বনে কে ঢুকেছে রে সোনার জহরী,
নিকষে ঘষয়ে কমল, আ মরি মরি!

Alas, a jeweller has come into the flower garden !—
He wants to appraise the truth of a lotus by rubbing it
against his touchstone.

The members of the *Báül* sect belong to that class of the people in Bengal who are not educated in the prevalent sense of the word. I remember how troubled they were, when I asked some of them to write down for me a collection of their songs. When they *did* venture to attempt it, I found it almost impossible to decipher their writing—the spelling and lettering were so outrageously unconventional. Yet their spiritual practices are founded upon a mystic philosophy of the human body, abstrusely technical. These people roam about singing their songs, one of which I heard years ago from my roadside window, the first two lines remaining inscribed in my memory :

খাঁচার মধ্যে অচিন পাখী কম্‌নে আসে যায় ।
ধরতে পারলে মনোবেড়ি দিতেম তারি পায় ॥

Nobody can tell whence the bird unknown
Comes into the cage and goes out.
I would feign put round its feet the fetter of my mind,
Could I but capture it.

This village poet evidently agrees with our sage of the Upanishad who says that our mind comes back baffled in its attempt to reach the Unknown Being ; and yet this poet like the ancient sage does not give up his adventure of the infinite, thus implying that there is a way to its realisation. It reminds me of Shelley's poem in which he sings of the mystical spirit of Beauty :

The awful shadow of some unseen Power
Floats, though unseen, among us ; visiting
This various world with as inconstant wing
As summer winds that creep from flower to flower.
Like moonbeams that behind some piny mountain shower,
It visits with inconstant glance
Each human heart and countenance.

That this Unknown is the profoundest reality, though difficult of comprehension, is equally admitted by the English poet as by the nameless village singer of Bengal in whose music vibrate the wing-beats of the unknown bird,—only Shelley's utterance is for the cultured few, while the *Baül* song is for the tillers of the soil, for the simple folk of our village households, who are never bored by its mystic transcendentalism.

All this is owing to the wonderful system of mass education which has prevailed for ages in India, and which to-day is in danger of becoming extinct. We have our academic seats of learning where students flock round their famous teachers from distant parts of the country. These places are like lakes, full of deep but still water, which have to be approached through difficult paths. But the constant evaporation from them, forming clouds, is carried by the wind from field to field, across hills and dales and through all the different divisions of the land. Operas based upon legendary poems, recitations and story-telling by trained men, the lyrical wealth of the popular literature distributed far and wide by the agency of mendicant singers,—these are the clouds that help to irrigate the minds of the people with the ideas which in their original form belonged to difficult doctrines of metaphysics. Profound speculations contained in the systems of Sánkhya, Vedánta and Yoga are transformed into the living harvest of the people's literature, brought to the door of those who can never have the leisure and training to pursue these thoughts to their fountain-head.

In order to enable a civilised community to carry on its complex functions, there must be a large number of men who have to take charge of its material needs, however onerous such task may be. Their vocation gives them no opportunity to cultivate their mind. Yet they form the vast multitude, compelled to turn themselves into unthinking machines of production, so that a few may have the time to think great thoughts, create immortal forms of art and to lead humanity to spiritual altitudes.

India has never neglected these social martyrs, but has tried to bring light into the grim obscurity of their life-long toil, and has always acknowledged its duty to supply them with mental and spiritual food in assimilable form through the medium of a variety of ceremonies. This process is not carried on by any specially organised association of public service, but by a spontaneous social adjustment which acts like circulation of blood in our bodily system. Because of this, the work continues even when the original purpose ceases to exist.

Once when I was on a visit to a small Bengal village, mostly inhabited by Mahomedan cultivators, the villagers entertained me with an opera performance the literature of which belonged to an obsolete religious sect that had wide influence centuries ago. Though the religion itself is dead, its voice still continues preaching its philosophy to a people who in spite of their different culture are not tired of listening. It discussed according to its own doctrine the different elements, material and transcendental, that constitute human personality, comprehending the body, the self and the soul. Then came a dialogue during the course of which was related the incident of a person who wanted to make a journey to *Brindâban*, the Garden of Bliss, but was prevented by watchman who startled him with an accusation of theft. The thieving was proved when it was shown that inside his clothes he was secretly trying to smuggle into the garden the *self*, passing it on as his own and not admitting that it is for his master. The culprit was caught with the incriminating bundle in his possession which barred for him his passage to the supreme goal. Under a tattered canopy held on bamboo poles and lighted by a few smoking kerosene lamps, the village crowd, occasionally interrupted by howls of jackals in the neighbouring paddy fields, attended with untired interest, till the small hours of the morning, the performance of a drama, that discussed the ultimate meaning of all things in a seemingly incongruous setting of dance, music and humorous dialogue.

These illustrations will show how naturally, in India, poetry and philosophy have walked hand in hand, only because the latter has claimed its right to guide men to the practical path of their life's fulfilment. What is that fulfilment ? It is our freedom in truth, which has for its prayer :

Lead us from the unreal to Reality.

For *satyam* is *ânandam*, the real is joy.

From my vocation as an artist in verse, I have come to my own idea about the joy of the real. For to give us the taste of reality through freedom of mind is the nature of all arts. When in relation to them we talk of æsthetics we must know that it is not about beauty in its ordinary meaning, but in that deeper meaning which a poet has expressed in his utterance : "Truth is beauty, beauty truth." An artist may paint a picture of a decrepit person not pleasant to look at, and yet we call it perfect when we become intensely conscious of its reality. The mind of the jealous woman in Browning's poem, watching the preparation of poison and in imagination gloating over its possible effect upon her rival, is not beautiful ; but when it stands vividly real before our consciousness, through the unity of consistency in its idea and form, we have our enjoyment. The character of Karna, the great warrior of the Mahábhárata, gives us a deeper delight through its occasional outbursts of meanness, than it would if it were a model picture of unadulterated magnanimity. The very contradictions which hurt the completeness of a moral ideal have helped us to feel the reality of the character, and this gives us joy, not because it is pleasant in itself, but because it is definite in its creation.

It is not wholly true that art has its value for us because in it we realise all that we fail to attain in our life ; but the fact is that the function of art is to bring us, with its creations, into immediate touch with reality. These need not resemble actual facts of our experience, and yet they do delight our heart because they are made true to us. In the world of art, our consciousness being freed from the tangle of self-interest, we gain an unobstructed vision of unity, the incarnation of the real which is a joy for ever.

As in the world of art, so in God's world, our soul waits for its freedom from the ego to reach that disinterested joy which is the source and goal of creation. It cries for its *mukti* into the unity of truth from the mirage of appearances endlessly pursued by the thirsty self. This idea of *mukti*, based upon metaphysics, has affected our life in India, touched the springs of our emotions, and supplications for it soar heavenward on the wings of poesy. We constantly hear men of scanty learning and simple faith singing in their prayer to *Tárá*, the Goddess Redeemer :

তারা, কোন অপরাধে দীর্ঘ মেয়াদে সংসার গারদে থাকি বল্ ?

For what sin should I be compelled to remain in this dungeon of the world of appearances ?

They are afraid of being alienated from the world of truth, afraid of their perpetual drifting amidst the froth and foam of things, of being tossed about by the tidal waves of pleasure and pain and never reaching the ultimate meaning of life. Of these men, one may be a carter driving his cart to market, another a fisherman plying his net. They may not be prompt with an intelligent answer, if questioned about the deeper import of the song they sing, but they have no doubt in their mind, that the abiding cause of all misery is not so much in the lack of life's furniture as in the obscurity of life's significance. It is a common topic with such to decry an undue emphasis upon *me* and *mine*, which falsifies the perspective of truth. For, have they not often seen men, who are not above their own level in social position or intellectual acquirement, going out to seek Truth, leaving everything that they have behind them ?

They know that the object of these adventurers is not ketterment in worldly wealth and power,—it is *mukti*, freedom. They possibly know some poor fellow villager of their own craft, who remains in the world carrying on his daily vocation, and yet has the reputation of being emancipated in the heart of the Eternal. I myself have come across a fisherman singing with an inward absorption of mind, while fishing all day in the Ganges, who was pointed out to me by my boatmen, with awe, as a man of liberated spirit. He is out of reach of the conventional prices which are set upon men by society, and which classify them like toys arranged in the shop-windows according to the market standard of value.

When the figure of this fisherman comes to my mind, I cannot but think that their number is not small who with their lives sing the epic of the unfettered soul, but will never be known in history. These unsophisticated Indian peasants know that an Emperor is a decorated slave remaining chained to his Empire, that a millionaire is kept pilloried by his fate in the golden cage of his wealth, while this fisherman is free in the realm of light. When, groping in the dark, we stumble against objects, we cling to them believing them to be our only hope. When light comes we slacken our hold, finding them to be mere parts of the all to which we are related. The simple man of the village knows what freedom is—freedom from the isolation of self, from the isolation of things which imparts a fierce intensity to our sense of possession. He knows that this freedom is not in the mere negation of bondage, in the bareness of belongings; but in some positive realisation which gives pure joy to our being, and he sings :

যে জন ডুব্‌ল সখি তার কী আছে বাকি গো ?

To him who sinks into the deep, nothing remains unattained.

He sings :

মনরে আমার, মনের সাথে মিল্‌বি যদি আয়,
দুই মনেতে এক মন হ'য়ে আজব সহর চলে যাই ।

Let my two minds meet and combine
And lead me to the City Wonderful.

When the one mind of ours which wanders in search of things in the outer region of the varied, and the other which seeks the inward vision of unity, are no longer in conflict, they help us to realise the *ájab*, the *ánirvachaniya*, the ineffable. The poet saint Kabir has also the same message when he sings :

By saying that Supreme Reality only dwells in the inner realm of spirit we shame the outer world of matter and also when we say that he is only in the outside we do not speak the truth.

According to these singers, truth is in unity and therefore freedom is in its realisation. The texts of our daily worship and meditation are for training our mind to overcome the barrier of separateness from the rest of existence and to realise *advaitam*, the Supreme Unity which is *anántam*, infinitude. It is philosophical wisdom having its universal radiation in the popular mind in India that inspires our prayer, our daily spiritual practices. It has its constant urging for us to go beyond the world of appearances in which facts as facts are alien to us, like the mere sounds of a foreign music ; it speaks to us of an emancipation in the inner truth of all things in which the endless *Many* reveals the *One*, as the multitude of notes, when we understand them, reveal to us the inner unity which is music.

But because this freedom is in truth itself and not in an appearance of it, no hurried path of success, forcibly cut out by the greed of result, can be a true path. And an obscure village poet, unknown to the world of recognised respectability, untrammelled by the standardised learning of the Education Department, sings :

নিঠুর গরজী, তুই কি মানস মুকুল ভাজ্‌বি আগুনে ?
তুই ফুল ফুটাবি, বাস ছুটাবি সবুর বিহনে ?
দেখ্‌না আমার পরম গুরু সাঁই
যে যুগযুগান্তে ফুটায় মুকুল, তাড়া হুড়া নাই।
তোর লোভ প্রচণ্ড, তাই ভরসা দণ্ড,
এর আছে কোন্ উপায় ?
কয় সে মদন দিস্‌নে বেদন, শোন্ নিবেদন, সেই শ্রীগুরুর মনে,
সহজ ধারা আপন-হারা তাঁর বাণী শোনে, রে গরজী।

O cruel man of urgent need, must you scorch with fire the mind which still is a bud ? You will burst it into bits, destroy its perfume in your impatience. Do you not see that my lord, the Supreme Teacher, takes ages to perfect the flower and never is in a fury of haste ? But because of your terrible greed you only rely on force, and what hope is there for you, O man of urgent need ? Prithee ! says Madan the poet, Hurt not the mind of my Teacher. Know that only he who follows the simple current and loses himself, can hear the voice, O man of urgent need.

This poet knows that there is no external means of taking freedom by the throat. It is the inward process of losing ourselves that leads us to it. Bondage in all its forms has its stronghold in the inner self and not in the outside world ; it is in the dimming of our consciousness, in the narrowing of our perspective, in the wrong valuation of things.

The proof of this we find in the modern civilization whose motive force has become a ceaseless urgency of need. Its freedom is only the apparent freedom of inertia which does not know how and where to stop. There are some primitive people who have put an artificial value on human scalps and they develop an arithmetical fury which does not allow them to stop in the gathering of their trophies. They are driven by some cruel fate into an endless exaggeration which makes them ceaselessly run on an interminable path of addition. Such a freedom in their wild course of collection is the worst form of bondage. The cruel urgency of need is all the more aggravated in their case because of the lack of truth in its object. Similarly it should be realised thast a mere addition to the rate of speed, to the paraphernalia of fat living and display of furniture, to the frightfulness of destructive armaments, only leads to an insensate orgy of a caricature of bigness. The links of bondage go on multiplying themselves, threatening to shackle the whole world with the chain forged by such unmeaning and unending urgency of need.

The idea of *mukti* in Christian theology is liberation from a punishment which we carry with our birth. In India it is from the dark enclosure of ignorance which causes the illusion of a self that seems final. But the enlightenment which frees us from this ignorance must not merely be negative. Freedom is not in an emptiness of its contents, it is in the harmony of communication through which we find no obstruction in realising our own being in the surrounding world. It is of this harmony, and not of a bare and barren isolation, that the Upanishad speaks, when it says that the truth no longer remains hidden in him who finds himself in the All.

Freedom in the material world has also the same meaning expressed in its own language. When nature's phenomena appeared to us as manifestations of an obscure and irrational caprice, we lived in an alien world never dreaming of our *swaraj* within its territory. With the discovery of the harmony of its working with that of our reason, we realise our unity with it and, therefore, freedom. It is *avidyá*, ignorance, which causes our disunion with our scrroundings. It is *vidyá*, the knowledge of the Brahma manifested in the material universe that makes us realise *advaitam*, the spirit of unity in the world of matter.

Those who have been brought up in a misunderstanding of this world's process, not knowing that it is his by his right of intelligence, are trained as cowards by a hopeless faith in the ordinance of a destiny darkly dealing its blows, offering no room for appeal. They submit without struggle when human rights are denied them, being accustomed to imagine themselves born as outlaws in a world constantly thrusting upon them incomprehensible surprises of accidents.

Also in the social or political field, the lack of freedom is based upon the spirit of alienation, on the imperfect realisation of *advaitam*. There our bondage is in the tortured link of union. One may imagine that an individual who succeeds in dissociating himself from his fellows attains real freedom, inasmuch as all ties of relationship imply obligation to others. But we know that, though it may sound paradoxical, it is true that in the human world only a perfect arrangement of interdependence gives rise to freedom. The most individualistic of human beings, who own no responsibility, are the savages who fail to attain their fulness of manifestation. They live immersed in obscurity, like an ill-lighted fire that cannot liberate itself from its envelope of smoke. Only those may attain their freedom from the segregation of an eclipsed life, who have the power to cultivate mutual understanding and co-operation. The history of the growth of freedom is the history of the perfection of human relationship.

The strongest barrier against freedom in all departments of life is the selfishness of individuals or groups. Civilisation, whose object is to afford humanity its greatest possible opportunity of complete manifestation, perishes when some selfish passion, in place of a moral ideal, is allowed to exploit its resources unopposed, for its own purposes. For the greed of acquisition and the living principle of creation are antagonistic to each other. Life has brought with it the first triumph of freedom in the world of the inert, because it is an inner expression and not merely an external fact, because it must always exceed the limits of its substance, never allowing its materials to clog its spirit, and yet ever keeping to the limits of its truth. Its accumulation must not suppress its harmony of growth, the harmony that unites the *in* and the *out*, the end and the means, the *what is* and the *what is to come*.

Life does not store up but assimilates; its spirit and its substance, its work and itself, are intimately united. When the nonliving elements of our surroundings are stupendously disproportionate, when they are mechanical system and hoarded possessions, then the mutual discord between our life and our world ends in the defeat of the former. The gulf thus created by the receding stream of soul we try to replenish with a continuous shower of wealth which may have the power to fill but not the power to unite. Therefore the gap is dangerously concealed under the glittering quicksands of things which by their own accumulating weight cause a sudden subsidence, while we are in the depth of our sleep.

But the real tragedy does not lie in the destruction of our material security, it is in the obscuration of man himself in the human world. In his creative activities man makes his surroundings instinct with his own life and love. But in his utilitarian ambition he deforms and defiles it with the callous handling of his voracity. This world of man's manufacture with its discordant shrieks and mechanical movements, reacts upon his own nature, incessantly suggesting to him a scheme of universe which is an abstract system. In such a world there can be no question of *mukti*, because it is a solidly solitary fact, because the cage is all that we have, and no sky beyond it. In all appearance the world to us *is* a closed world, like a seed within its hard cover. But in the core of the seed there is the cry of Life for *mukti* even when the proof of its possibility is darkly silent. When some huge temptation tramples into stillness this living aspiration after *mukti*, then does civilisation die like a seed that has lost its urging for germination.

It is not altogether true that the ideal of *mukti* in India is based upon a philosophy of passivity. The Ishopanishad has strongly asserted that man must wish to live a hundred years and go on doing his work; for, according to it, the complete truth is in the harmony of the infinite and the finite, the passive ideal of perfection and the active process of its revealment; according to it, he who pursues the knowledge of the infinite as an absolute truth sinks even into a deeper darkness than he who pursues the cult of the finite as complete in itself. He who thinks that a mere aggregation of changing notes has the ultimate value of unchanging music, is no doubt foolish; but his foolishness is exceeded by that of one who thinks that true music is devoid of all notes. But where is the reconciliation? Through what means does the music which is transcendental turn the facts of the detached notes into a vehicle of its expression? It is through the rhythm, the very limit of its composition. We reach the infinite through crossing the path that is definite. It is this that is meant in the following verse of the Īsha :

বিদ্যাঞ্চাবিদ্যাঞ্চ যস্তদ্বেদোভয়ং সহ।
অবিদ্যয়া মৃত্যুং তীর্ত্বা বিদ্যয়াঽমৃতমশ্নুতে ॥

He who knows the truth of the infinite and that of the finite both united together, crosses death by the help of avidyá, *and by the help of* vidyá *reaches immortality.*

The regulated life is the rhythm of the finite through whose very restrictions we pass to the immortal life. This *amritam*, the immortal life, is not a mere prolongation of physical existence, it is in the realisation of the perfect, it is in the well-proportioned beautiful definition of life which every moment surpasses its own limits and expresses the Eternal. In the very first verse of the Īsha, the injunction is given to us : mā gṛdhaḥ, *Thou shalt not covet.* But why should we not? Because greed, having no limit, smothers the rhythm of life—the rhythm which is expressive of the limitless.

The morern civilisation is largely composed of *átmahano janāḥ* who are spiritual suicides. It has lost its will for limiting its desires, for restraining its perpetual self-exaggeration. Because it has lost its philosophy of life, it loses its art of living. Like poetasters it mistakes skill for power and realism for reality. In the Middle Ages when Europe believed in the kingdom of heaven, she struggled to modulate her life's forces to effect their harmonious relation to this ideal, which always sent its call to her activities in the midst of the boisterous conflict of her passions. There was in this endeavour an ever present scheme of creation, something which was positive, which had the authority to say : *Thou shalt not covet, thou must find thy true limits.* To-day there is only a furious rage for raising numberless brick-kilns in place of buildings. The great scheme of the master-builder has been smothered under the heaps of brick-dust. It proves the severance of *avidyá* from her union with *vidyá* giving rise to an unrhythmic power, ignoring all creative plan, igniting a flame that has heat but no light.

Creation is in rhythm,—the rhythm which is the border on which *vidyáncha avidyáncha*, the infinite and the finite, meet. We do not know how, from the indeterminate, the lotus flower finds its being. So long as it is merged in the vague it is nothing to us, and yet it must have been everywhere. Somehow from the vast it has been captured in a perfect rhythmical limit, forming an eddy in our consciousness, arousing within us a recognition of delight at the touch of the infinite which finitude gives. It is the limiting process which is the work of a creator, who finds his freedom through his restraints, the truth of the boundless through the reality of the bounds. The insatiable idolatry of material, that runs along an ever-lengthening line of extravagance, is inexpressive ; it belongs to those regions which are *andhena tama-Sávṛtāḥ*, enveloped in darkness, which ever carry the load of their inarticulate bulk. The true prayer of man is for the Real not for the big, for the Light which is not in incendiarism but in illumination, for Immortality which is not in duration of time, but in the eternity of the perfect.

Only because we have closed our path to the inner world of *mukti*, has the outer world become terrible in its exactions. It is a slavery to continue to live in a sphere where things are, yet where their meaning is obstructed. It has become possible for men to say that existence is evil, only because in our blindness we have missed something in which our existence has its truth. If a bird tries to soar in the sky with only one of its wings, it is offended with the wind for buffeting it down to the dust. All broken truths are evil. They hurt because they suggest something which they do not offer. Death does not hurt us, but disease does, because disease constantly reminds us of health and yet withholds it from us. And life in a half world is evil, because it feigns finality when it is obviously incomplete, giving us the cup, but not the draught of life. All tragedies consist in truth remaining a fragment, its cycle not being completed.

Let me close with a *Báül* song, over a century old, in which the poet sings of the eternal bond of union between the infinite and the finite soul, from which there can be no *mukti*, because it is an interrelation which makes truth complete, because love is ultimate, because absolute independence is the blankness of utter sterility. The idea in it is the same as we have in the Upanishad, that truth is neither in vure *vidyá* nor in *avidyá*, but in their union :

হৃদয় কমল চল্‌তেছে ফুটে কত যুগ ধরি,
তাতে তুমিও বাঁধা আমিও বাঁধা, উপায় কী করি।
ফুটে ফুটে কমল, ফুটার না হয় শেষ ;
এই কমলের যে-এক মধু, রস যে তায় বিশেষ।
ছেড়ে যেতে লোভী ভ্রমর পারো না যে তাই,
তাই তুমিও বাঁধা আমিও বাঁধা, মুক্তি কোথাও নাই ॥

It goes on blossoming for ages, the soul-lotus in which I am bound, as well as thou, without escape. There is no end to the opening of its petals, and the honey in it has such sweetness that thou like an enchanted bee canst never desert it, and therefore thou art bound, and I am, and mukti *is nowhere.*

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

SILVER CLOUD

"Fear"?
Oh, no, that's
  an old world yarn
  obsolete and dead;
This new age of ours
  is fear-less
  and won't hit back
  for it wears the
Crown of Love
  on its head.

Yes, let's live,
  before we die,
Our daily round
  of worries notwithstanding,
For, if there be
  the Silver line to the cloud,
There is not a cloud
  without its silver lining.
We but win to lose,
  and lose to win
And it is a rhythmic ebb and flow.
And howso'er dark a cloud might be
  ne'er was there one
Without its silv'ry glow.

For Darkness is
  but the blindness of our sight,
Darkness is invis'ble Light.

M. DHAR

GHOST CROSSES

Shortly after sunset the last gleam from a full moon struck the stagnant, stump-strewn waters of Loon Lake and danced across the melancholy expanse toward a lone house near the high mill-dam. As if leaping from the dark water the yellow rays streamed through a kitchen window and fell upon a girl bending over a stove. She noticed the sudden illumination and glanced swiftly at the window—fearsomely. The next moment flying banks of clouds covered the face of the moon and inky darkness enveloped swamp-land and water. Heavy drops of rain splashed the window-pane and the girl hastily turned up an oil-lamp upon the kitchen table.

"You'll break the chimney," growled a man at the table. "There's enough light to cook by. Is supper ready?"

"It would have been ready two hours ago if you had come in," replied the girl, taking from the stove a frying-pan of sputtering catfish. "What kept you?"

"There'll be thunder to-night," said the man, speaking more to himself than to the girl. He took a long drink from a stone jug and wiped his scraggy, grey beard upon his shirt sleeve before continuing. "Thunder allus sets Black Jake to walking—but I'm ready for him to-night. I made the biggest cross he's ever had—made it o' two-by-fours, big enough to nail him on it. White washed it twice. That's what kept me late."

"Father, the School-master says there are no ghosts."

"A lot he knows," mumbled the man as he stuffed the white meat of the catfish into his mouth and picked out the bones with his fingers. "I tell you I've seen Jake's face, all pasty and white, at that window just as plain as I see you now."

There was a blinding flash of lightning which was followed by heavy thunder in the distance. The girl cowered back into a corner and sank upon a chair where she sat motionless and still while the old man grumbled to himself as he ate.

Two years earlier Mrs. Gowers had died. From that time things had gone from bad to worse with the miller on Loon Lake. Immediately after the funeral John Gowers had commenced to drink heavily. With the drinking had come fits of ferocious temper and intervals of sullen melancholy. Through it all, Selba worked and cared for him in a vain endeavour to take her mother's place. She gave up her school and, one by one, her village friends drifted into the past—all save David Haskum who whistled once a week at the gate on the corduroy road which wound through the big swamp. Some people said that Selba was a fool because she did not marry David; others called her a saint.

After the funeral John Gowers paid less and less attention to his work at the mill and, gradually, his business dwindled to almost nothing. Farmers would draw their grain several miles further in order to escape so unattractive and uncertain a man. Only one helper was needed at the little mill—a negro, called Black Jake.

Upon the first anniversary of the death of his wife, Gowers drank more than usual and was particularly morose. At night, during a great thunder storm, Selba heard her father cursing Black Jake down near the mill-dam. She could not see them but, in the lulls of the storm, she heard her father's drunken oaths. Black Jake was never seen again and investigation discovered nothing. It was said that, in dire fear, he had fled from the district. It was also whispered that John Gowers had killed the negro in a fit of temper and had sunk the body at some secluded part of the lake.

After the disappearance of Black Jake—some said after the murder—Loon Lake soon gained an evil reputation. Stories of Gowers' mad habits spread fast and village gossip hinted at heathen ceremonies upon the mill-dam at midnight. Spectral figures were seen by late travellers upon the swamp road so that women and children would not use it after dark and many a man made a long detour. The ghost of Black Jake was supposed to come forth after sundown.

During the last year, since Black Jake had gone, Selba submitted to more and more abuse from her father who complained of everything and thanked her for nothing. Sober or drunk he took her ministrations for granted without the slightest trace of thankfulness or even friendliness.

On frequent occasions Gowers swore to his daughter that he had seen the ghost of Black Jake. At these times he would construct a crude, wooden cross—often out of two laths—and set it, late at night, upon the dam. This done he would place his ear close to the water and listen for a message. Sometimes he stated that Black Jake demanded milk; at other times it was butter, flour or eggs. These articles he would lay at the foot of the cross and go back to the house where he would drink himself to sleep.

On the following morning Selba noticed that the articles of food had invariably disappeared. She did not wonder at this, however, in view of the large number of water animals which infested the place. What did puzzle her was the disappearance of the crosses. Often conspicuous by being whitewashed it was strange that they were nowhere to be seen when the sun rose. Even if the wind did blow them into the water it seemed impossible that they would always drift completely out of sight.

As her father finished the last of his plate of catfish, Selba rose from her chair and stood before him. She might have been pretty—even beautiful—had her hair and clothes been given more attention. As it was, her deep blue eyes looked down at the man with a strange wistfulness of appeal. As her slender figure swayed in the cotton dress, her hands clenched and determination mingled with the wistfulness.

"Do you know what day this is, father?" she asked in a voice that indicated suppressed emotion.

"It's the night Black Jake'll walk."

"It's more than that, father."

"Eh?"

"It's the night mother died, two years ago."

Gowers seized the stone jug and held it long to his lips before speaking.

"Black Jake'll walk to-night for sure!" he exclaimed as he set down the jug. "He was mortal fond o' ma. Mebbe he'll ask for a dozen eggs to-night, p'r'aps two dozen. He might even ask for something I haven't got. Then what? I'd have to go myself—down into the mud where hell is. I tell you it's not fair o' ma to put this on me. She allus thought o' you first, what with your schoolin' and fine ways. It's lucky I made the big cross and gave it two whitewashes. P'r'aps that'll satisfy him."

"Father, I've something to tell you," said Selba in a voice so serious that Gowers hesitated in the act of reaching once more for the jug. "David Haskum wants to marry me."

The old man's mouth fell open as he stared up at his daughter in astonishment not unmixed with alarm.

"You'd leave your pa?" he suddenly whined. "You'd go away after promisin' your ma on her death-bed that you'd stick by me?"

A deafening crash of thunder shook the whole house and the window rattled as if unseen hands were trying to shake it loose. When the noise subsided the girl put her question, her voice tense and her face strained.

"Father, may I marry David? May I go?"

"I'll not say for you to go!" roared Gowers, hanging the jug upon the table. "If you go, your ma'll curse you from her grave for breakin' your promise."

"I did not promise to stay with you always," replied Selba into whose eyes a new light had come. "I promised mother that I would stay with you for two years and then let you decide it."

"Well, ain't I decidin' it?" snarled the old man. "You'll stay right here and forget about your David. Doesn't that decide it?"

"Yes, father," said the girl very quietly. "Mother told me that, at the end of two years, I was to stay with you if you told me to go and I was to go if you told me to stay."

John Gowers' face convulsed with rage but, before he could reply, there occurred a flash of lightning so blinding that both man and girl raised their hands to shield their eyes from the intense glare. In the brief instant of blackness which followed, while the lamp held but a painted flame, a ghastly face appeared at the window and pressed close against the pane. Then came the thunder which seemed to rock the earth—and the face was gone.

Rage slipped from Gowers' face as if it had been a mask and in its place was cringing fear.

"All right, Jake," he moaned as Selba fled, sobbing with fright, up the stairs to her little room under the gables, "I'm comin." I'll give you what you want. I'll do anything you say."

Lurchingly he threw open the door and stumbled out into the darkness. Behind him, through the open door, dashed the wind and rain, extinguishing the lamp and bringing a rickety clothes-horse to the floor with a great clatter. Down the narrow stair-passage came the agonized crying of the terrified girl while the rain beat into the kitchen and formed in puddles upon the uneven boarding of the floor.

Half an hour later Gowers felt his way back into the pitch black kitchen. He slammed the door shut and bellowed for Selba. No answer came to him amid the mutterings of the storm and he splashed about over the soaking floor until he found the stone jug from which he drank long and copiously. Finally, he found matches and managed to relight the lamp although his shaking hands were but poor servants. In the light the water ran from his unkempt hair and beard in rivulets upon his sodden clothing. His eyes gleamed with drunken, insane cunning. They wandered to the stairs and back to the stone jug. He applied himself once more to the jug and then, with unsteady hand, took up the lamp.

With uncertain steps John Gowers ascended the stairs while the lamp, swaying in his hand and casting more shadow than light, smoked badly and threw a film of soot across his scowling face. Never before had he invaded the privacy of his daughter's only retreat. Before the frail door at the head of the stairs he called again. There was no answer and he placed his heavy boot against the latch and sent the door crashing inwards.

Kneeling by the bed, with something clasped in her arms, was Selba—silent, motionless. A single candle burned upon an old-fashioned bureau upon which lay a few simple toilet articles which might have been bought at the village store.

"Selba!"

The girl looked around with eyes fearful and piteous while she hugged closer what she held in her arms.

"You be goin' away after all."

"Ye-es, father?"

"Black Jake says 'Selba.' I listened by the water and he says 'Selba.'"

Suddenly the girl stood up and desperately faced her father.

"Go to bed! Please!" she exclaimed. "Mother died, downstairs, just two years ago to-night. Go to bed for her sake. Look into her eyes and remember."

As she spoke Selba opened her arms and held out the portrait of her mother.

For an instant Gowers recoiled as he stared at the picture. Then rage convulsed his face and he hurled the lamp across the room while he seized his daughter by the wrists. Violently he dragged her out of the room and down the stairs while a sea of fire crept over the floor as the burning oil spread from the broken lamp.

Grayish white the great cross seemed, in the flashes of lightning, as Gowers bound the girl upon it. Bruised, wet and terrified, she hung high up over the old dam.

"Daddy! Daddy!" she called once, remembering her childhood days—but he drew the cords still tighter and cursed as he called Black Jake to come and get her.

How long she hung upon the cross Selba did not know. The howling wind and dashing rain numbed her brain so that the thunder and lightning seemed creations of a horrid dream. Visions of her mother came and went and, at last, the face—the ghastly face she had seen at the window!

"Mother!"

The one word left her lips and consciousness vanished.

* * *

The fire and flood at Loon Lake on the night of the great storm will long be remembered by those who hastened to the scene of the catastrophe. The red glare of the burning house was soon eclipsed by the greater blaze of the old, ramshackle mill which had either been struck by lightning or had fallen a victim to sparks from the house. The intense heat of the burning mill ignited the nearby, wooden water-gates of the dam so that they burst and the huge volume of water flooded the country-side and roared over the old corduroy road.

When David Haskum, with a handful of men from the village, reached the scene there was little left of either house or mill and the water still raced with foaming fury through the broken gates. In the thundering storm the group of men looked helplessly at the devastation. They spread over the high ground and searched for Gowers and his daughter but no trace of them could be found and no reply came in answer to their cries. In the end they went home—all save Haskum—unable to do anything and having achieved nothing.

Alone, Haskum walked to the gate where he had been accustomed to whistle, once a week, for Selba—his Selba. In the wind and the rain, lighted by the flashes of lightning and the distant glow of the still burning fires, he realized his loss. Selba was gone—almost surely swept away by fire or flood. Then a fury burst upon him and he dashed once more to the burning house.

With an old rake Haskum hacked and dragged at the burning embers—madly, wherever he could reach against the heat. At one spot the rake caught in the handle of a cracked, stone jug around which was what appeared to be the charred bones of a human arm. The sight banished his last sense of reason. Burned and singed he plunged into the outer darkness beyond the fire.

For hours Haskum stumbled blindly through mud and water. Often he was knee-deep in the ooze of the lake-bed from which the water had receded. He ploughed his way among tall reeds and rushes, fell into water holes and clawed through the black tangle of the surrounding swamp growth. Always the name of Selba was on his lips but no answer came back to him through the hissing rain.

It was nearly morning when Haskum staggered from the swamp at a point near the village. His frenzy had expended itself and, with sagging head, he plodded disconsolately homeward. At the gate of the little cottage, where he lived with his mother, he stared stupidly at a huge, white cross which loomed in the darkness against the picket fence, A light was burning in the front room and his mother came forward as he lurched through the door—torn, blackened and bedraggled.

There was a strange light in the old eyes as he gazed into them—a light that brought new life to his tired body although he could not understand.

"Black Jake came," said the old woman as if it were an everyday occurrence.

"Black Jake, mother? But he's dead! Have you seen the ghost?"

"Not dead and not a ghost," she replied in a most matter-of-fact tone, "but asleep in the woodshed."

As Haskum looked his astonishment his mother continued as if she were talking to a little boy.

"I always told you, David, that these ghost stories were foolish and now I know the whole story from Jake himself. He's been nothing but a grown child, scared to death of old man Gowers and living in a hut in the middle of the swamp. At night he came out and whitened his face with flour from the mill and scared Gowers into giving him things to eat and making little crosses for him."

"But why didn't he run away?" asked Haskum.

"Because he's just a child and because Mrs. Gowers once told him that he must always take care of Selba. So he stayed around but he didn't do much for Selba—until to-night."

Haskum gripped the back of a chair so that it cracked in his grasp as he stared at his mother and spoke in a low, tense voice.

"Until to-night, mother? Selba? Where is she?"

"Asleep in the next room. Jake found her tied to a cross on the dam just before the mill caught fire. He carried her here and dragged the cross behind him. We have had the doctor and, for awhile, he was afraid her mind was gone but I think she is all right now and will be around in a week or two."

From the next room a faint voice called.

"Mother!"

With a groan Haskum sank into a chair.

"Her mind is still gone!" he exclaimed. "She is calling her dead mother."

"No, my boy," came the answer, low but with the pride of centuries behind it, "she is calling *me*."

R. T. M. Scott

SHE AND I

I

A ravishment her dream-lit face,
  Enchantment is her eye,
Her smile a stab of joy to heart,
  Love's music is her sigh.
Her speech that breathes all fragrant flowers
  Is ever a quake of heart,
Her hair's a feast for starving eyes,
  Her looks an artless art.
She moves in tune with heart's desire,
  Her rest is peace in joy,
Delight she is of heaven and earth,
  Her sweetness ne'er can cloy.
I wish on her my life may sleep.
  Without her, life's a bane,
What men will buy with life and death
  To me are vainest vain.

II

That anchorite's cool, sun-fed eyes
  A lightning 'pon her shed;
"It is but flesh" he said and passed
  —A chainless dog him led.
My anger roused, I chase him swift,
  Before his den I stood,—
"How darest thou my love deride?"
  "Yes, dog's, here, tooth-some food."
Heart-sore, perplext, I sat in dust,
  I raised my thirsting eyes
To drink in words of soothing sooth
  To still heart's hopeless cries—

" Is beauty naught, is love a name,
Is life a dead, dark blur?
Then how that naught transmits to heart—
Yea, love's blest joyous stir ? "
" Now, look within and look above,
See, thou art Beauty, thou art Love.
What's not in thee is nowhere seen,
All's self on self—a magic screen."

III

" I grant thee, beauty's seen by mind,
In mind, forsooth, lives love.
If I were beauty why this crave
For beauty—life above?
If I were love then why disgust
Strikes at root of life,
Then why against my life, self-fed,
Love's unending strife ?."
" This strife is but the labour pain
For Love and Beauty's birth.
For ever they thy life in Truth,
Descending now on earth.
Remember these fair heavenly twins
Are thy salvation sure—
Dark earth they make thee radiant heaven—
Self-revelation pure.
As soul alone is Beauty found,
And Love with soul is inter-bound.
These heavenly twins, when hand in hand,
Unmoved against all evils stand,
Assert against them victor's might
And ills transform in heaven to right."

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

EDUCATION AS A CHANNEL OF WESTERN INFLUENCE IN BENGAL

No one who looks at life in Bengal as it is lived to-day can fail to be struck by the impress of the west which is evident even to a careless observer. Western influence is writ large all over India; in dress, in speech, in ideas, in almost everything, this contact with the west has been productive of vast changes. Bengal, it has been asserted, is "the greatest sinner" in this respect. There may be—as no doubt there are—two sides to the question: Has this influence been all for our good? It is nevertheless highly interesting for the student of the cultural life in our country to watch the importation of western ideas in diverse channels. Let us consider the various steps taken by the Government, the people and other agencies in this direction. The most direct way lay through education for which the country was ripe and eager enough by the first decade of the 19th century.

A—By the Government.

People were so ready to acquire new ideas, so responsive to the efforts, wherever made, for their intellectual development, for the new knowledge to be made easily accessible in the schools and colleges! The Government could train its officers in the language and literature, living or dead, of the country; but that would not suffice. The people themselves wanted to have the new ideas sown broadcast. There were sporadic attempts at teaching English, schools with this object having been opened by private individuals, either for lucre, or for the love of teaching, or for both. In the early period of its rule the Government could not turn its attention to the education of the people, it had to be busy in purely administrative work and in new conquests or defensive wars. It endeavoured to conserve the ancient literature of the country—and to that spirit is due the foundation of the Calcutta Madrasah in 1781 and of the Sanskrit College at Benares in 1792, primarily for their utility in connection with the law-courts. Even when the Company had definitely embarked on a policy, it could not follow that policy consistently and steadily, for there were distractions from time to time threatening it with ruin, and it was only after the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 that the government could pursue its object with continuity.

The educational policy of 1813—aid to oriental learning.

In 1813, however, along with the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, the policy of the country underwent a thorough revision and in the Charter Act of 1813, there was a clause that " A sum of not less than a lakh of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the Sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India." (Act 53rd George III, Chap. 155, clause 43.) But this proviso was not applied till ten years later when in 1823, the Committee of Public Instruction was constituted and it was only then that the money, accumulated all these years, was placed at its disposal for practical use. The amount was hardly sufficient for the spread of general education, and the clause was a little ambiguous about its preference for "the revival of literature" or for the "introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences." Advantage was taken of this ambiguity by the Orientalists who primarily used the fund for the purpose of instruction in Sanskrit and Arabic and for publishing books in those languages. We must remember that to the Orientalists the classical languages of the East were a newly discovered source of profit and enjoyment and the novelty of this delight did not wear off in the least at this stage. The example of the Fort William College in considering a knowledge of Oriental learning as the sole test of merit also told upon them. The Asiatic Society founded in 1784 engrossed the attention of a great section of the European residents. Even the resolution of the Governor-General in Council made the general committee of public instruction advisory rather than executive in its function—"there should be constituted a general committee of public instruction for the purpose of ascertaining the state of public education, and of the public institutions designed for its promotion and of considering, and from time to time submitting to Government, the suggestion of such measures as it may appear expedient to adopt with a view to the better instruction of the people, to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and to the improvement of their moral character." So far we see there is no clear-cut programme before the Government.

Ram Mohan Roy's letter.

But the people, at least their leaders, were not to be satisfied with this. Raja Ram Mohan Roy came boldly forward and addressed a letter in December, 1823—in these days it would be called an open letter—to Lord Amherst expressing dissatisfaction with the Government measure of establishing a new Sanskrit School in Calcutta of a type "which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon" and recommending a more liberal and enlightened educational policy "embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy, with other useful sciences," "employing a few gentlemen of talent and learning educated in Europe, and providing a college furnished with necessary books, instruments and other apparatus." His appeal fell on deaf ears; the question was not to be settled so easily. Lord Amherst's Government could not move in the matter and no decision on the point could be arrived at until the question was fought out in the Council in a triangular fight between the Anglicists, the Orientalists and the Vernacularists—those who favoured the cause of education through English, those for whom Sanskrit and Arabic were a living influence and those who would prefer the Vernacular medium.

A new departure in 1835.

The final step was taken in 1835, in Lord William Bentinck's regime, after the brilliant advocacy in favour of the Anglicists made by Lord Macaulay, an advocacy with which Lord Bentinck was fully in sympathy. Macaulay pointed out that the lakh of rupees set apart for the printing of Sanskrit and Arabic books was neither usefully nor profitably spent, inasmuch as they could spend only Rs. 20,000 for the purpose per year, and there was no demand for such books on the part of the public which was attracted rather towards English books; seven or eight thousand volumes written in the English language were sold every year by the School Book Society at a profit of 20 per cent. on its outlay. The Legal Code was in the making—its completion would imply that for ordinary cases one would not require any knowledge of Sanskrit or Arabic. Macaulay contended further that as the Government could not reasonably encourage the missionary enterprise on behalf of the spread of the Gospel, so it could not consistently with that policy spend money out of the coffers of the state for teaching "false history, false astronomy, false medicine and false religion." (Minute by the Hon'ble T. B. Macaulay, dated the 23rd February, 1835.) It is remarkable that in this celebrated Minute Macaulay clearly and fully admits that the adoption of English was but a transitional step and that the education of the people must be ultimately through its vernacular. In this connection we may relevantly quote from para. 29 of this liberal document:—

"We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern—a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in moral and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population." The sentiment expressed here fits in with Rev. Duff's statement made in 1833. "I saw clearly and expressed myself strongly to the effect that ultimately, in a generation or two, the Bengalee, by improvement might become the fitting medium of European knowledge. But at that time it was but a poor language, like English before Chaucer, and had in it, neither by translation nor original composition, no works embodying any subjects of study beyond the merest elements." (Life of Alexander Duff by Dr. Smith.) The decisive step was taken when in the Government Resolution, dated the 7th March, 1835, the Governor-General of India in Council directed that all available funds should be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language." Rev. Mr. Duff in his memorandum, as reproduced in the Life of Alexander Duff, Vol. I, pp. 200-3, would have liked to go further and was emphatically of opinion that the cause of missionary enterprise should not be neglected by the Government because it served the cause of truth and that "wherever, whenever, and by whomsoever, Christianity is sacrificed at the altar of worldly expediency, there and then must the supreme good of man lie bleeding at its base." The Government, however, kept strictly neutral on all points of religion because it was afraid of raising stubborn opposition on behalf of the people which might even subvert its political power.

The Vernacular Education.

Meanwhile, the cause of the vernacular education had not been neglected and Mr. Adam drew up reports on the subject, documents which clearly show up the miserable condition of such institutions and which offered suggestions for their improvement—suggestions not carried out practically, though the

First Annual Report of the Committee of Education attached much importance to the cause. In that Report we note:—

"We conceive the formation of a vernacular literature to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed."

And it was "the almost fatal absence of a vernacular literature" which made the study of English indispensable. The Committee laid down that it would encourage good books brought out in the native languages by adopting them extensively in the seminaries and that it would award pecuniary prizes to the authors of the best translations from English into the vernacular, and that it would attach a teacher of the vernacular language of the province to its educational institutions, which it sought to multiply at the rate of one seminary at each Zillah station.

The Despatch of 1854.

But these resolutions and recommendations were not yet put into a practical shape. That had to wait till the coming of the year 1854 when Wood's Despatch or "The intellectual charter of India" as it was called, laid down definite plans of executive action for the spread of education throughout the length and breadth of the country. Hitherto the Government had simply offered suggestions and established the Committee of Education, a body, as has been already remarked, more advisory than executive. At any rate it is refreshing to hear it repeated and clearly stated for all time to come—"It is neither our aim nor desire to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country.........any acquaintance with improved European knowledge which is to be communicated to the great mass of the people can only be conveyed to them through one or other of these vernacular languages." The importance of this in consideration of the influence of the West on the Bengali literature may well be considered here. But Wood's Despatch did not remain contented with laying down a general rule or educational principle, it established certain courses of action which are still governing the educational policy of the Government and which have made Bengal what it is now. It saw the creation of an Educational Department and provided for an adequate system of inspection into the working of schools and colleges; as the spread of English education depended on money and as it had of necessity to depend on public enthusiasm and support, this Despatch provided for grants-in-aid to educational institutions founded by benevolent persons. Further, the Directors were at last persuaded that the time had come for the establishment of universities in India which might encourage a regular and liberal course of education by conferring academical degrees and thereby admitting them into the European republic of letters and that such universities should be modelled on the London University. This recommendation of the Directorate could not be given effect to during the tenure of Lord Dalhousie but in 1857, the necessary Act—Act No. II of 1857—was passed by the Legislature on the 24th January for the establishment of a University at Calcutta. After that, various reforming measures have been carried out which need not be detailed here. The greater attention to the Bengali language and literature is a new feature of recent times. The effect of the University education in Bengal has been the tendency to raise intellectual culture to one uniform standard throughout the country and the extensive westernisation of the educated community.

B—By Christian Missionaries.

Christian Missionary Work.

Along with the educational policy of the Government which sought to flood the middle class people with western influence, must be mentioned the missionary activities of enterprising Europeans who came out to India to preach the Gospel to the children of the soil, and gradually settled on education for the furtherance of their missionary propaganda.

The preaching work was in these early days confined only to the lower classes of people, and the result was not at all encouraging. It gradually dawned upon those missionary workers that education, specially English education, would convince the people of the faultiness of their pseudo-science and the erroneous nature of their inherited traditions, and would endow them with a critical spirit which might subject their religious doctrines to a searching scrutiny and thus lay down a solid foundation for Christianity. Duff's first converts had roused such hopes, but subsequent history failed to realise them. However, the clergy would undertake to instruct the youth placed under their care by the laity and, guided by philanthropic and other motives, also persons outside their immediate jurisdiction. This explains the bearing of missionary enterprise on Indian education.

On the 1st December, 1758, the first school for poor Christian students was started by the Reverend J. Z. Kiernander a native of Sweden and the first Protestant Missionary of Bengal who died after a residence of sixty years in India on the 29th December, 1799, and whose portrait is to be seen in the Victoria Memorial Hall. The next European of note, known to have opened a Vernacular School in Bengal, was John Ellerton of Malda. Carey and his associates worked for some years in Dinajpur and adjacent districts where they started a number of schools which were maintained for more than twenty years. But Carey's services were requisitioned by the authorities of the College of Fort William in writing text-books and compiling dictionaries and teaching Bengali and Sanskrit to newly imported servants of the East India Company. The Baptist Missionaries were soon joined and helped in their evangelising work by other societies. In 1814, the London Missionary Society had flourishing schools around Chinsura where about a thousand students were enrolled, and received for the successful working of these, Rupees six hundred (600) per month from the Marquis of Hastings—this was the first grant-in-aid made by the Government in Bengal for the promotion of vernacular education. In 1816, Dr. Marshman established many schools round and about Serampore and the Serampore Institution for Native Schools was formed. By 1817, one hundred and fifteen schools were started containing on their rolls ten thousand students ; the College was founded in 1818. In 1816, near about the time when the School Book Society came into being, the Calcutta Diocesan Committee was constituted to establish schools for diffusing useful knowledge among the inhabitants of the territories subject to the Presidency of Bengal by means of the vernacular medium. In 1829, the Church Missionary School was opened for the education of poor Hindu boys. Thus we see that even before Duff came to India, extensive preparations were being made by the Missionaries for the education of the people of the country.

Rev. Alexander Duff.

There was a radical change with the arrival of Reverend Mr. Duff. The missionary educational work acquired an importance unprecedented in the annals of Christian missions in Bengal. Education was hitherto considered to be one of the items in a clergyman's life; it was now adopted as an important, if not the main, policy. Rev. Mr. Duff was the first missionary to concentrate his attention on the intellectual class and to try to bring them over to Christianity by means of educational institutions. By education he sought to root out from the Bengali mind all the superstitious ideas. What Derozio sought to accomplish in the Hindu College (the rooting out of superstition by means of education) was attempted by Duff in a wider field, in the schools maintained through the length and breadth of Bengal and also outside them. But there was a difference ;—along with a knowledge of the literature and science of Europe he judged a knowledge of the Christian scriptures indispensable. Reference has already been made to his insistence on the study of the scriptures ; he was firmly of opinion that no reformed educational policy would be productive of any good unless joined by a devout study of the true religion. The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland entrusted him with the object of starting an educational institution of the highest order—"in inseparable conjunction with the principles of the Christian faith." Immediately on reaching Calcutta in May, 1830, he opened an institution for the propagation of the Gospel through education, at once liberal and religious, on western principles, and with English as the medium in the higher classes. He began with 7 pupils but the number soon swelled to 1,200. It was called the General Assembly's Institution, named after the church which sent Duff to India. In 1843, due to the great schisms at Home in the Church of Scotland, he left the College and founded another, the College of the Free Church of Scotland, named after him, and conducted on the same lines. The two Colleges were afterwards amalgamated as "The Scottish Churches College" in 1908. When he landed in Calcutta there were 5,000 young people at school of whom not more than 500 were learning English. At the end of the 1 th century there was a vast change which we may partly realise from the fact that in 1892 the missionaries were teaching 1,20,000 pupils, nearly five times the number of students in Government institutions.

Mr. Duff's work is so very important from the standpoint of westernisation of Bengal in ideas, because he was fully conscious of the importance of English education; to him it seemed that the English literature and the European science were a necessity " for the improvement of the heathen mind" and for preparing it to receive the Holy Truth. In his speech at the General Assembly on the 25th May, 1835, he said:—

"The English language, I repeat it, is the lever which, as the instrument of conveying the entire range of knowledge, is destined to move all Hindustan."

It is nevertheless a sure proof of Duff's farsightedness that he did not forget the importance of the vernacular.

He threw himself whole-heartedly, with all the energy he was capable of, into work for the people's good. He opened a school for girls in 1857; it was he who first pointed out the importance of establishing normal schools for training teachers, and he was not slow in acting up to his own advice. Among the workers who tried to spread English education in Bengal in the last century, he occupied a prominent place.

As regards the influence on the ideas of the people which the missionary institutions exerted, it is sufficient to quote a contemporary historian:—

"Each new school or college opened for the teaching of English lore, helped to Anglicise, in some measure perhaps to christianize, the youth of Bombay and Bengal. If a taste for reading English books, for speaking the English language, for dressing, dining, disporting after the English fashion, gainsaying all kinds of religious doctrines old or new, passed with many a young Hindu for a thorough assimilation of himself to his English neighbour, many more seemed really bent on carrying the spirit of the new movement into matters more nearly touching the national welfare."—*Trotter's History of the British Empire in India.*

The missionaries were not wholly occupied with teaching and with founding schools and colleges for the instruction of the young. They also did substantial work in connection with the compiling and composing of text-books and books of reference for use both in the primary and the high schools. Their names stand conspicuous on the covers of many a publication of the Calcutta School Book Society. They associated themselves with educational societies, encouraged schools founded by others and in many ways took an interest in the improvement of the Bengali language and literature. Though their ultimate object was the conversion of young Bengal to Christianity, Bengal owes to them a deep debt of gratitude for their educational work.

C—By Other Agencies.

Besides the Government and the enterprising missionary, the public in Bengal has always been keenly alive to the supreme need and importance of educational institutions in the country. Most of the Government educational reforms have been the results of public agitation. And the people were not content with simply clamouring for help—they took the initiative into their own hands and established schools. Ram Mohan Roy had his own school near Cornwallis Square which later on went by the name of Purna Mitter's School. At Hughli and Burdwan important institutions were started which prosper even to this day. Further, there were individuals who, guided by various motives, kept school in different parts of the city. In the book, "The Good Old Days of Honorable John Company," some of those schools are mentioned by name. The School Society, the Brahmo Education Society were and are organisations for the spread of education on western lines. Outside Bengal, the Bombay Education Society, the Native School Society of the Southern Concan, Pacheappa's Schools in the Madras Presidency, Jay Narayan Ghosal's School in Benares are proofs of the existence of this thirst after knowledge prevalent far and wide throughout the country. People who would not have combined on any other ground, learned to join together for the common good, waiving the question of orthodoxy or heterodoxy. Among other schools in Calcutta, it will be proper to mention at least three. The Oriental Seminary which gave sound English education unalloyed by missionary influences, the Dharumtolla Academy, managed by Mr. Drummond where Derozio received his lessons, and the school in Chitpur Road kept very successfully by one Mr. Sherbourne, a Eurasian, the son of a Brahmin mother, who numbered among his pupils the brothers Prasanna Kumar Tagore and Hara Kumar Tagore.

The Hindu College.

But the premier public institution which has been, for more than a century, a channel for the importation of Western literature and science and philosophy to young Bengal is the Presidency College, or as it was originally called, the Mahavidyalaya or the Hindu College which owed its origin to the enthusiasm and industry of David Hare, Raja Ram Mohan Roy and many Hindu gentlemen of the Orthodox school. Sir Edward Hyde East, the then Chief Justice, was its first President, and the school was located in a house in Chitpur Road. For some six years it was in a moribund condition and changed from house to house, till in 1823, on Mr. Hare's intervention, the Government allowed it to stand on the ground acquired for the erection of the Sanskrit College Building. It was in 1825 also subjected to the supervision of the President, Committee of Education. The years that followed were full of glory for the Hindu College. Its boys were the pioneers of all movements that agitated the country. Its existence was threatened in the year 1849, over the question of removing one Guru Charan Singh, a Non-Hindu student, from the rolls of the College, and in the Minute of the College Committee by Raja Radha Kanta Dev, dated the 25th November, 1849, we find,—"At the establishment of the Hindu College, its managers pledged their faith to the Hindu Community that they would guard their religious interests with scrupulous care. A body of rules was accordingly passed, among which that which enacted that none but Hindu youths would be admitted into the institution, stands conspicuous and in keeping with this course the institution was designated by the name of the Hindu College." However, it safely weathered the storm and in 1855, in accordance with the Despatch of Sir Charles Wood, it was taken over by the Government and transformed into the Presidency College and Chairs for moral and mental philosophy, logic, natural history, astronomy and geology were established. Since then it has been one of the main resorts of the better class of students in Bengal.

David Hare.

Any account of the Hindu College would be incomplete if it made no mention of such illustrious names as David Hare, Henry Louis Vivian Derozio and Captain David Lester Richardson—men who by their disinterested labour, by their love of teaching and by means of their masterful personality contributed in no small degree to the importance and glory of the Hindu College and helped it to be the great force which it was in the life and thought of young Bengal. David Hare, the father of native education—a title which has been very deservedly bestowed on him,—was associated with the Mahavidyalaya or Hindu College from its very foundation ; he was indeed one of those to whom the institution owed its origin. So much had he identified himself with the cause of English education that when he came out in the streets, young boys would follow him about, clamouring for a free seat in his school, and this was not a rare occurrence. His main work, however, was not in the Hindu College but lay in another institution which went by his name. David Hare and Derozio were conspicuous for their sympathy with the spirit of progress. Wherever an educational experiment was going on, they would try so far as lay in their power, to encourage it by personal help and advice, as in the case of the *Hindu Benevolent Institution* of which the proprietor was Babu Peary Chand Mittra.

Derozio.

Derozio's stay in the Hindu College as a member of the teaching staff was not for long. In March, 1828, he was appointed Master of English Literature and History in the Second and the Third classes of the College and he resigned his services in April, 1831. Thus his stay there hardly covered more than three years, but within this brief space of time he exerted an influence which was very intense and thoroughgoing in its way. He was eminently fitted to guide the students to the great store-houses of European thought. His acquaintance with the literature and thought of England and knowledge of the best thinkers of Europe, picked up in an astonishingly short space of time is marvellous indeed. His library was stocked with new and rare books such as were hardly available in the ordinary bookshops of the country. He was only 20 years old when he has thus put in charge of young students—this might have gone a little way to make him popular. So great was his influence over his pupils that even in their private and domestic concerns they would consult him for advice. Though his tenure in the school was short, he fully utilised it by the zeal with which he taught and the loving kindness with which he behaved towards his young students, trying earnestly to root out all ill-conceived prejudices from their minds by means of free discussion. And this discussion was so free that it raised an outcry against him in the Hindu society; it was said that his teaching had produced a body of young men who were trying "to pull Hinduism to pieces." He was accused of having spread "lawless lust and western vice" by his sinister teaching; of having denied the existence of God, encouraged disobedience to one's parents and spread the idea that marriage between brothers and sisters was quite proper. These extravagant charges—which, it is needless to add, were absolutely unfounded and malicious lies—were brought forward against him and led to his practical dismissal by the managers of the College. He was not even allowed to clear himself, to know his lapses, if any, and to deliver an able and crushing reply to his maligners. This was a grievous wrong done to the young and brilliant thinker and one remembers, to compare small things with great, the case of Socrates. Derozio's connection with the College ceased; and he was to be cut off from the world also, in a few years, but the impetus which he had given to the thoughts and ideas of young Bengal could not die at once. It lived and caused a ferment and hastened the *sturm-und-drung* period in the life of the Hindu College.

Captain D. L. Richardson.

The third of this remarkable trio was Captain David Lester Richardson. He came out to India in 1819 as an ensign in the Dum-Dum Cantonment but there was in him a creative poetical faculty which found its outlet in contributions to the Calcutta Journal. In 1832, he was made a captain but rendered invalid next year. His reputation as a scholar and poet caused his services to be held in great request by the authorities of the Hindu College who made him the Principal of the institution. He was to teach English Literature, History, Moral Philosophy and Composition to the two upper classes in the Hindu College, but mainly occupied himself with the teaching of English Poetry. Shakespeare and Pope were his favourite authors and "in endless alternation" he taught Shakespeare's Hamlet, Othello, Macbeth, King Lear, the two parts of Henry IV, Pope's Essay on Criticism, Rape of the Lock, Essay on Man and Prologue to the Satires. Bacon's Essays was an exception. As a result of the importunities of students, he was known to have changed only for the Taming of the Shrew, Timon of Athens, and Young's Night Thoughts. From 1845 to 1849 he served as the Principal of various colleges—the Krishnagar College, the Hugli College and the Hindu College. His resignation in that year—a step he was forced to take—raised the dust of controversy in the Calcutta papers. In 1853 he was appointed Principal of the Hindu Metropolitan College, an institution founded just then as a protest against some action of the Hindu College authorities, and continued in that capacity up to the year 1857 when he left for home. He returned to Calcutta in 1859, and was appointed a professor in the Presidency College, Calcutta, but in 1861 he left India for ever. He was the author of several volumes of poems one of which was made a text-book for the university students. The history of the Hindu College under him is its most glorious record. He was a sympathetic tutor, absolutely devoid of any race prejudice. It was he who first created a genuine taste in Bengali students for the literary treasures of the West. A gifted poet, a brilliant critic, a sympathetic teacher, his enthusiasm for his literary favourites was infectious in its effect on the students. His capacity for teaching, judged by its result on the students, evoked the admiration of even Macaulay, who remembered in far-off England his reading of Shakespeare. In his farewell speech we find his own opinion of his work in India ably stated:—

> "I behold my own pupils, old and young, in every direction and I am led to make a rough calculation of the thousands of Oriental intellects that I have contributed to influence or to mould by familiarising them with the thoughts and feelings of the West—with the immortal works of the noblest British authors. It is a triumph to me to have introduced them to such writers as Bacon and Shakespeare and Milton and Addison and Johnson and Young and Cowper and Hallam and Macaulay. I do not say—I am far from saying it—that in this great task I have stood alone. Others have worked as well, or better, in the same good cause—but I may be said to have begun the task at least on the present system......I was known as an earnest labourer in the cause of Indian education long before it was so popular and well-cared for as it is now. I was the first Principal of a College ever appointed in India; and then it was not by the Government but by a Committee of the Natives."

The work of education by means of schools and colleges has been going on along the lines of western thought. Young Bengal is being steadily initiated into the new ways. To this end many agencies have been co-operating—the Government, the Christian Missionary Societies, other private bodies and even individuals have been working together. The increase in the number of the matriculates and the graduates,—points to the solid work that is being done here unobtrusively. It has to be admitted that, among all the agencies thus at work, none is so potent as education, both in respect of number of persons influenced and the intensity of that influence.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

GREATER INDIA

A STUDY IN INDIAN INTERNATIONALISM

India enjoys the precarious privilege of possessing no systematic history well defined by Time and Space. She has passed, like every other country, through all the phases of historical evolution—sociological and religious, intellectual and political; yet with a peculiar obstinacy India has refused hitherto to develop a hierarchy of orthodox historians and a consistent tradition of national history. No doubt she has acknowledged from very ancient times the value of chronicles (Itithāsa-Purāṇa) as an intellectual discipline yet, such compositions have remained, down to the appearance of the Muhammadan historians, as subsidiary to her proverbially rich contributions to Religion and Ethics.

To Western scholars, trained in methods of precision applied to the intensive study of national histories, the apparent apathy towards the preservation of what they call "national glories" seems not only to be a little disconcerting but even derogatory to the prestige of the Indians as an intellectual people. Diagnosis of this peculiar malady led to the development of diverse theories : lack of political cohesion and comprehension of national solidarity, oriental fatalism and obsession of hereafterism—all seemed to have combined to weaken the Hindu faculty of precision and thereby sap the foundation of historical science in India. The present degradation of India was considered to be the cumulative effect of these national perversities and well-wishers of India, both outside and inside, have sought to cure it by reconstructing her history on a national basis.

Without discounting the value of possessing a systematic national history or disputing India's poverty in that department of literature, one may still plead that the judgment passed on the Indian people from that standpoint is nevertheless superficial and unjust. A people that could evolve at least forty centuries ago, the earliest collection of human lyrics in the form of the Vedic Hymns, may be credited with a certain amount of creative imagination. A people that could present to the world about 2,500 years ago a scientific treatise on grammar like that of Pānini may aspire to a certain amount of analytical power and capacity for system-building. A people that could perpetuate through millenniums, the traditions of its religious, social and intellectual life—not through writing but by a phenomenal memory, may claim to possess some sort of instinct for precision and preservation. So it still remains a problem why such a people did not develop a tradition of national history in the special sense of our days. This is a paradox which has not been explained by condescending theorists of the historical school (*cf.* Nag: The Humanisation of History, Modern Review, Feb. 1923).

It may not be an improbable hypothesis that the Hindus somehow felt history, with its interminable details of wars and treaties, of triumphs and dissolutions, as a poor portraiture of the real national life and a very unsatisfactory and imperfect reflection of its creative activities. They boldly challenged the validity of the *world of phenomena* and tried to discover the *world of permanence*, immutable beyond all phenomena. Revulsion from things transient and temporal produced almost an obsession of the Absolute and the Eternal. Thus India neglected History and developed Philosophy; or rather, she considered the quest of the spirit for the Eternal Verity as the real history of Humanity. Thus whilst her next-door neighbour China was quietly laying the foundation of early science and inventions; while Babylonia was developing the earliest astronomy and legal code; and while Egypt was composing her "Book of the Dead" and was trying to triumph over Death by her titanic architecture,—India was quietly scaling the supernal heights of Human Philosophy—

the Himalayas of Thought—and was filling the world with the reverberations of profound questions about Existence and Non-existence, Death and Immortality—fundamental problems of human life—through the Vedic Hymns :—

> " There was not the Non-existent nor the Existent then
> There was not the air nor the heaven which is beyond
> What did it contain? Where? In whose protection?
> Was there water, unfathomable, profound?
>
> There was not Death nor Immortality then,
> There was not the beacon of Night nor of Day.
> *That* one breathed, windless, by its own power
> Other than *That* there was not anything, beyond.
>
> (Rig Veda X, 129, i, ii.)

Descending from the heights of primitive speculation when India was confronted with the problems of complex life, in and through the expansion of her Society, she subordinated *Economics* to her science of Equity and Jurisprudence and *Politics* to her science of Ethics. Thus she developed her *Dharma-śāstra* and *Rāja-dharma* with *Dharma*, the Eternal as the mainstay of her secular history. This obsession of the Eternal in her temporal life has its counterpart in the obsession of the Universal in her national history and that of the Formless in her æsthetic discipline creating mystic forms and symbolic language. So Hindu apathy towards History is the effect of a malady that is deeper than the diagnosis of our modern historians. It is a triple complex which some future psycho-analyst may analyse to satisfy our curiosity! Meanwhile I beg leave to trace the influence of the Universal on the history of India, to indicate the landmarks of Internationalism in her national evolution and to point out, by suggestions and implications, if possible, the specific contributions of India to the development of International History. In an age wherein, international hatred threatens unfortunately to be the order of the day, such a study may not be without profit, not simply for the transvaluation of historical values but for ascertaining the warning-gesture of the profound *Past* to our muddling *Present.*

I. RETROSPECT ACROSS THE FIRST MILLENNIUM AREA (CIRCA 1400-500 B.C.)—EXPLOSION OF THE "SPLENDID ISOLATION" THEORY.

The first fiction and unfortunately the most tenacious fiction of Indian History is the glaringly unhistorical hypothesis that India grew up in "splendid isolation." For the fabrication of this fiction we have to be thankful as much to the narrow outlook of late Hindu orthodoxy as to the erroneous picture of primitive Indian society drawn by the early school of occidental philologists. While acknowledging fully the value of the works of these scholars in the decipherment of the ancient texts we cannot forget that the outlook of these new types of *Pundits* were generally limited by those very texts which engrossed their attention. Thus frequently too much emphasis was laid on particular aspects of Indian life as suggested by some special terms or words, and too little regard paid to the general historical evolution. Words are valuable as landmarks in the progress of society, but for that very reason they are but *static symbols* of the ever-changing and ever-expanding life. So the picture of caste-ridden India, cut off from the rest of the world by the external barriers of the ocean and the Himalayas as well as by the internal prohibitions of a morbid, all-excluding cult of purity, India ever chanting Vedic hymns or celebrating occult sacrifices, weaving transcendental philosophies or absurd reactionary principles of life, —this fancy picture of India fades away as soon as we view it from the vantage ground of History. Truth is not only stranger but thousand times stronger than fiction. The chance-stroke of the spade of an archæologist makes short work of heaps of scholarly theories. So the discovery of the inscription of Boghaz Keui in 1907 by the German archæologist Hugo Winckler led to the explosion of the "Isolation" theory and expanded to an unexpected extent the horizon of Indian history. Here, for the first time, we read the startling fact that in far off Cappadocia, in the fourteenth century B.C., two belligerent tribes—the Hittites and the Mitannis, invoking the Vedic Gods, Mitra, Varuṇa and Indra, while concluding a treaty; moreover, the special twin-gods, Nāsatyas were invoked to bless the new marriage-alliance concluded between the two royal families. (Dr. Sten Konow: The Aryan Gods of the Mitanni people, "Modern Review," 1921.)

Thus, by a curious coincidence, this first concrete document in the history of Indian internationalism, represents the Indian gods as the peace-makers and harmonisers of conflicting interests; and as such, we consider the Boghaz Keui inscription not only as a landmark in Asiatic history but also as a symbol of India's role in the development of internationalism through *peace* and *spiritual unity.* This is, as we shall try to show, quite different from the *economic internationalism* of exploitation (*e.g.*, Phœnician) or the *imperialistic internationalism* of compulsion (*e.g.*, Assyrian and Roman). We cannot forget that when the Indian gods appear for the first time in the symbolic role of Peace-makers in Cappadocia, Egypt is proudly proclaiming her world-conquests through the famous Victory Ode of Thutmosis III, cataloguing with sublime egotism the vanquished nations and countries. Further westwards, we hear about the same time (1500 B.C.) the Achæans thundering on the ramparts of the Ægian capital Knossos (Crete), the collapse of the Minoan hegemony in the Mediterranean and the peaceful penetration of the crafty Phœnicians connecting the East and the West with a subtle tie of economic exploitation. The Achæan ascendency, already weakened by the fateful Trojan War (1200 B.C.) as well as the Phœnician commercial empire began to give way before the onrush of the virile Dorians who, with iron weapons, inaugurated the Iron Age, in Europe (1000 B.C.) vanquishing their predecessors of the Bronze Age; while in Asia, Assyria played the same role as that of the Dorians, pulverising the decadent nations with superior military organisation and efficiency.

What was happening in India in that epoch of transition from the pre-classical to the classical period of Western history with its interlude of the Epic Age, we have no definite political records to ascertain. But we have invaluable literary documents to attest the rapid development of Indian life and thought. From the Rigveda (the earliest literary monument, if not of humanity, at least of the Indo-European people) to the earliest *Brāhmaṇas* (1000 B.C.), Indian life had traversed quite a long path of sociological evolution. The Vedic Aryans were confronted with the same problem, presented to the Egyptians and Assyrians, Achæans and Dorians,—of an autochthonous people barring the way of a more virile expanding power. And herein lies the originality of the Indian Aryans, that they solved the problem in the only lasting manner possible—by recognising the title of their rivals *to exist*, not merely as enemies but as collaborators in the building of a civilisation which we may call to-day as much Aryan as non-Aryan (Indo-Mesopotamian or Dravidian as we like. *Cf.* my note on the "Aryo-Dravidian Compromise," Modern Review, January, 1922).

The Vedic literature being essentially sacerdotal, records but poorly this march of India along the path of historical synthesis. Yet, we get glimpses of the complexity of the picture here and there; the background is already *polychrome*; the crowding of canvas is already Epic. From the very beginning we notice the *white* Aryans engaged in tussle with the *dark* aborigines. Surely, the social and political problems thus raised were not removed by the simple utterance of *Vedic Mantras*! There were occasional conflicts and outbursts of cruelties. The path was often red with "blood and iron." The atmosphere was often dark with horror and the Vedic poets seemed to have given vent to their feeling of suspense and agony during those awful nights in their semi-symbolical hymn to Uṣas—the goddess of Dawn to be born in the womb of primeval Darkness:—

> "Arise ! the breath, the life again has reached us !
> Darkness has gone away and Light is coming.
> She leaves a path for the sun to travel,
> We have arrived where men *prolong existence* !"—
>
> Rigveda V. i. 113.

Yes, the aim of the Indian Aryans was to prolong existence not to extinguish it. And long before the formulation of the doctrine of *Ahiṁsā* (non-injury) by Mahāvīra and the Buddha, India demonstrated her *profound respect for life* by realising that in her early history. The Aryo-Dravidian synthesis will ever remain as the first and the foremost glory in her career of international amalgamation. Two nations, quite different in race, language and culture were fused to give birth to a virile stock of people and to lay the foundations of a great civilisation.

Needless to say that this was achieved through many conflicts and catastrophies which prepared the way for the Indian *Epic Age* with its formulation of the principles of *world power* and world-empire (though the geography of that world was singularly different from our own !) Hence in the later Vedic literature as well as in the *Brāhmaṇas* we read frequently of *Sāmrājyas* (vast empires) and *Sārva-bhaumas* (great emperors). From that doctrine it is an easy and normal transition to the concepts of *Digvijaya* (conquest of world-quarters) and that of *Rāja-chakravartin* (super-sovereign of the diplomatic circle). That naturally brought in its train wars on an epic scale, and martial ballads came to be composed by contemporary bards and minstrels. And just as Homers and pseudo-Homers appeared several centuries after the

Trojan war to give epic form to the floating legends and ballads, so the actual great epics of India—the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*—were composed by our Vālmīkis and Vyāsās many centuries after the traditional wars between Rāma and Rāvaṇa or between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas towards the end of the Vedic age.

So whilst the Vedic age was a period of tribal warfare and unconscious fusion of tribes and races, the Epic age was a period of strife between more extensively organised kingdoms and empires, striving after suzerain power. In this epoch the old principle of *amalgamation* underwent its hardiest test. In both the Epics, we read a great deal about wars, but in none of them we miss the *lessons of war* as they were imprinted on the heart of the ancient Hindus; the ultimate victory is always on the side of the righteous and even then, victory in a game like war is too much like defeat! That shows clearly that even in the process of testing the principle of concord and amalgamation, in the very act of experimenting with a new method of discord and dissolution, Indian mind was wide awake and open to conviction. Hence the poet of the *Rāmāyaṇa* makes the victor Rāma stand humbly by the side of his dying enemy to have his parting advice. Hence also, in the *Mahābhārata*, we find the triumphant Yudhisṭhira sitting at the feet of the dying hero Bhīṣma, to listen to the Canto of Peace as the only fitting conclusion to an war epic. Thus, confronting the actualities of war as a sociological experiment, its terrible consequences and tragic legacies, Indian mind pronounced its verdict on war through the formulation of new doctrines later on embodied in systematic treaties like the *Śāntiparvan* and the *Bhagavadgītā*. This sanity and this self-knowledge are really admirable. India tried the path of "blood and iron" and shuddered back in horror and disgust. No doubt one school of thought continued to refine the philosophy of mutual suspicion and of the inevitability of war as a means of aggrandisement, and thus gave rise to the science of *Sāḍguṇya* (sextuple methods of diplomacy) culminating in the atomistic politics of the *maṇḍala* of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya which dominated the political thoughts of India in her periods of disintegration (Nag: Les Theories Diplomatiques de l'Inde Ancienne et l'Arthaśāstra, pp. 115). Another school attempted to explain away the war philosophically by transforming local war into an allegory of cosmic war, thus giving rise to the grand philosophical poem of the *Bhagavad-gītā*. While a third school candidly preached Peace, to be the only true sublimation of War and thus gave us the famous Śānti-parvan (the Canto of Peace).

The soul of India seemed to have been undergoing a travail for New Birth. The atmosphere was surcharged with a new agony and a terrific gloom which reminded us very much of the age of the Vedic groping in the dark. Suffocating under that atmosphere of narrow egotism and shocking carnage, one section of the Indian mind sought and found liberation in the serene region of emancipated individualism (the gravitation of the Hindu mind) and cried out through the deathless voices of the sages of the Upaniṣads, the message of this fresh Revelation :—

> "Listen to me, O ye children of immortality...I have come to know the Great Person, like the Sun, beyond the darkness!"

This solemn call was sent to the whole universe (Viśva) for it was the result of the realisation of Him who is the All-feeling one (Sarvānubhuḥ). And this new aspiration did not remain a mere ecstatic dream but soon became flesh in an actual *Puruṣa*, a historical personality—the Buddha, whom India created out of the depth of her universal charity. Truth that was burning in the heart of India became incarnate. Dispelling with the radiance of Divine Amity, the dark smokes arising out of the bloody altars of sacrifice, both sacerdotal and political, Buddha proclaimed the sublime paradox that *to gain all one must give all*, to avoid suffering one must eradicate the all-devouring Ego, the root of all suffering, and that real illumination is in the quenching of the flames of passion (*Nirvāṇa*).

Political history of Humanity is full of absurd gaps, stupid silences and illogical *lacunæ*! That is why we cannot explain satisfactorily the real significance of such grand historical revelations. But the history of human thoughts expresses itself by suggestions probably too subtle for our chronological apparatus. The unerring universalism of the Upaniṣadas, the divine cosmopolitanism of Buddha surely proceeded from some *super-historical*, if not historical need of Humanity. That is why, towards the end of our First millennium (circa 1400-500 B.C.), we find Buddha dedicating himself to humanity; Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, preaching *Ahiṁsā* (non-injury) as the noblest principle of religion; that in dark days of the Chow dynasty of China, Lao-tse and Confucius (500-478 B.C.) evolving respectively their grand systems: the Tao-kiao (School of the Way) and Ju-kiao (School of the Knowers) emphasizing the same principles of life: non-interference, suppression of ego, and purification of heart. So also in the land of the Iranian cousins of the Indians, the reformation of faith had been started a little earlier by Zoroaster; and now we are startled to read for the first time in an imperial autobiography on stone—in the famous Behistun and Nakshi Rustam inscriptions of Darius the great (550-485 B.C.):—

> "Says Darius the King: for this reason Ahuramazda bore me aid, and the other gods which are, because I was not an enemy, I was not a deceiver, I was not a despot......"

The last words of the Emperor of Asia were equally significant for the age:—

> "O man, what (are) the commands of Ahuramazda, may he (make them) revealed to thee; do not err, do not leave the right path, do not sin......"

II. RETROSPECT ACROSS THE SECOND MILLENNIUM (CIRCA 500 B.C.—500 A.D.

India, the pioneer in practical Internationalism.

"......*rastam ma avarada ma starava*"—right (path) relinquisheth not, do not sin—these are the last words of the greatest figure in world-politics towards the end of our millennium. They signalised a new departure in the history of the epoch we are going to survey. The Persian empire under Darius the Great, touching India on the one side and Greece on the other, marked the apogee of the history of antiquity and the connecting watershed of the streams of the Ancient and the Modern history. It awakened the lyre of the first tragedian of Hellas, Æschylus fighting in the field Marathon (490 B.C.) and composing his drama "The Persians." It evoked also the genius of Herodotus the father of European history. Pursuing the age-old method of pulverisation, Persia battered at the decaying fabrics of ancient empires of Egypt and Mesopotamia and they tumbled down like houses of cards. So the Achemenian art under Darius represented in traditional style the throne of the world-emperor carried by long rows of vanquished sovereigns. At the same time the traditional political legacy of the *dream of world-empire* hypnotised Greece, the first rival of Persia in Europe. From Greece the chronic infection contaminated Rome. Greece checked the military advance of Persia but had neither the political sagacity nor the spiritual insight to arrest the disintegrating politics of antiquity, represented in its last phase by the Persian imperialism. The Peloponnesian war destroyed miserably the noble prospect of consolidation opened by the Confederacy of Delos. Hellas, and with her Europe, preferred the fateful path of empire-building. Athens, Sparta, Thebes, all attempted by turn, till at last Alexander of Macedon succeeded in traversing the same path of conquest from

Greece to India. What appears as a splendid turning of the table on Persia is really an ephemeral imitation of the Persian emperors ; and Persian influence on Alexander is acknowledged by all, for it was highly resented by his hellenic compatriots. World-empire may be a new ideal with the occident but it is a dangerously old institution of antiquity. In spite of the unmistakable warning of ancient history as to the inevitable self-disintegration of such gigantic edifices resting on the precarious foundation of *force*, Greece under Alexander and Rome under her republican proto-cæsars and imperial cæsars, attempted the dangerous experiment, met with the usual tragic disaster and, even in the very failure, left the fateful legacy of empire-building to all of their "Barbarian" successors who are struggling down to this day, with varying degrees of success and permanency, with the same impossible, antiquated experiment of antiquity—of building a world-empire—a machinery of gain for a *few* at the sacrifice of the *many*, based on the quick-sand of selfishness and propelled by the inhuman energy of brute force !

With phenomenal originality, nay with divine inspiration, India under Asoka the Great (273-242 B.C.) suddenly developed an ideal of *Empire of Peace and Progress* for all. Within 250 years of the appearance of the great Buddha, India produced another historic personality. *Dharmāsoka* not only contradicted with an unparalleled historical sagacity, the entire politics of antiquity up to his age but also, like a Spiritual Columbus, discovered a new world of constructive politics which, unfortunately, remains as yet only an aspiration and a dream for humanity. Behind him stretches the dead ruin of ancient empires; before him unfolds the tableau of lamentable duplication of the same selfish politics in our modern history; and in the centre lies the spiritual oasis of Asokan imperialism. It shines as a beacon light in the path of the political evolution of humanity, explaining the inevitable decay of old empires and putting to shame the retrospective laughter of the cynical imperialists of our modern age. Thus the empire of Asoka, with its new philosophy of conquest by Righteousness (Dharma-vijaya) and its new foundation of universal Well-being (Kalyāna), stands as the central climacteric of human history—at once a fateful warning and a divine inspiration for humanity.

Starting his career as an orthodox emperor engaged in the conquest of a territory (Kalinga) to the east of India, entailing the death of millions, Asoka had his first conversion as the result of that tragic contact with the actualities of politics. In a moment he discovered his mistake; and not stopping there, like a truly great soul, admitted his mistake with a sincerity and a penitence rarely paralleled by any other character of history. His edict of Kalinga is the noblest monument of his magnanimity; he made his repentance a perpetual lesson to posterity by carving on the rocks of the ravaged Kalinga an account of his Imperial blunder. Through that awful suffering he arrived at that noblest of political revelations that "true conquest consists in the conquest of men's hearts by the law of Dharma." From that conversion and that revelation issued twenty years (261-242 B.C.) of humanitarian activities touching the frontiers of the Hellenic world on the one hand and of the Mongolian world on the other, building the *first great causeway of Love and Illumination* between the Orient and the Occident, the first code of progressive imperialism and the first basis of constructive internationalism. The great truth of Universalism which flashed as a *revelation* upon the Souls of the *Rishis* of the Upanishads, which appeared as an *incarnation* in the personality of the first World-man Buddha, translated itself into the Cosmopolitics of this first practical internationalist of history—Dharmāsoka Piyadasi, the well-wisher of all, proclaiming with divine simplicity "*Sava munisā me pajā*"—whole humanity is my children—an echo of his master Buddha's saying.

India is generally known, represented and accepted as physically isolated and psychologically exclusive and in a way that is true. But how could such an India evolve such cosmic personalities, remains still a paradox of history. Between the Boghas Keui inscription and the Behistun inscription—for nearly thousand years the history of India's relations with the external world is full of tantalising guesses and absurd gaps. Latest researches however seem to discover "specific evidence for supposition that by 15th century B.C. tribes of Aryan stock held influence over the wide area extending from Northern Asia Minor and North-western Babylonia to Media."[1] Coming nearer home we find that there was a period of intimate historical contact between India and Iran, postulated and proved by philologists analysing the Rigveda and the Avesta. So Indo-Iranian period is a definite chapter of Asiatic history. Yet concrete historical facts are so few! The invasion of India by the Assyrian Queen Semiramis is only a legend though Arrian (Ch. 5) records that some Indian tribes were subjects of Assyrian sovereigns. The simultaneous occurrence of the legend of the great Deluge in the Babylonian record and in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (circa 1000 B.C.) is probably more definite as an evidence of contact of India with the Mesopotamian culture. Some astronomical notions and the use of iron are said to have been derived from Babylonia.[2]

The occurrence of Indian apes and peacocks in the Old Testament is admitted by some and disputed by others.[3] But Rawlinson and Kennedy (J. R. A. S., 1898) demonstrate that there are evidences of very early commercial relations between Southern India and the Western regions. The Semitic races were great pioneers in connecting isolated countries through commercial relations, one of the earliest motives of human amalgamation. Another great service rendered to humanity by the Semitic races was the *diffusion of alphabet*, at first probably for commercial facilities but later on converted into one of the greatest machineries for the propagation of Humanism. India is said to have derived her first alphabet from Semitic sources about the same time as Greece did (800 B. C.). And even if we do not accept the possibility of the march of Cyrus the Great to Indian frontiers we cannot help admitting that another script of India, the Kharoṣṭhi was established through the instrumentality of the established Iranian rulers of north-western India. Darius was the first King to bring India to historical clarity. He sent one Skylax of Karyanda (516 B. C.) who discovered a water passage from Persia to the mouth of the Indus, and as the result of that survey the Indian satrapy of Darius was acquired. According to Herodotus it was the richest and the most populous of the Persian provinces. From that time the relation between India and Persia became steady. Indian soldiers fought with the Persians under Mardonius against the Greeks on the field of Platæa (479 B. C.) and the Mauryan empire and art bear here and there traces of this Persian contact, though the categorical assertions of a "Zoroastrian period of Indian history" and Zoroastrian influences on Asoka are extravagant.[1]

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[1] Dr. P. Giles, "The Aryans," Cambridge History of India (1922).

[2] Indian Antiquary, XXXIV.

[3] Sylvain Levi, "Bāveru Jātaka"; Keith: Cambridge History of India, Chap. V.

But all these are phases of primitive aggression or imperialistic exploitation—the earliest and the latest features of human politics. To elevate that politics into the dignity of a medium of humanistic ministrations and to transform that primitive instinct of aggrandisement into creative cosmopolitanism—that was done for the first time by the Buddhist Emperor Dharmāsoka fulfilling the Brahmanical prophecy of Dharma-rājya (Kingdom of Righteousness) contained in the *Mahābhārata*. Thus in the same epoch that

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[1] V. Smith, "Oxford History of India (1919), pp. 79, 95."

Rome, the mother and model of European imperialism, was pulverising her last oriental enemy, Carthage, in the Punic Wars, Asoka had been celebrating the Spiritual Matrimony between countries and continents. This was undoubtedly a new departure in world-politics and the opening of a new page in the history of humanity. Not satisfied with preaching his new revelations *inside* India, Asoka sent his missionaries of humanism to Syria (then under Antiochos Theos) to Egypt (under Plotemy Philadelphos) to Cyrene (under Magas) to Macedonia (under Antigonos Gonatas) and to Epirus (under Alexander). Apart from these names inscribed on his Rock Edicts of 257-256 B. C., we have strong traditions about his missions to Ceylon visited by his own son Mahendra and daughter Sanghamitrā and even his mission to far-off Burma (Suvarṇa-bhûmi). Thus for the first time in history, humanity witnessed the *humanisation of politics*, and India through the hands of Asoka showered her blessings of Peace and Progress over this symbolical union of Asia, Africa, and Europe with ties of true internationalism.

By the side of this grand achievement of Asoka, the military adventures of Alexander the Great, in spite of their voluminous, nay garrulous expatiations, appear quite mediocre so far as the sublimity of conception and originality in execution of a *world-idea* are concerned. Alexander, while acting as a splendid "Scourge of God" in punishing the decadent powers of antiquity, followed the traditional method of conquest in achieving the traditional ideal of autocratic empire. Thus, accidentally, he happened to be the founder of the Greek colonies which helped in the propagation of Hellenism, but consciously he might seldom be said to have worked out any definite order of human relationship helping human welfare. All the legends collected by later chroniclers about Alexander and the Indian Gymnosophists show how the Indian mind was not only not affected by the so-called martial glories of Alexander in India but showed a somewhat disdainful pity at the sight of the cruel exploits of that Grand Barbarian. As a matter of fact, as soon as his army, demoralised by over-exhaustion and by the dread of the great Gangetic empire of Magadha, turned its back on India, the so-called Hellenic conquest of Alexander was dissipated from the mind of the Indians as an evil dream. Soon after, Chandragupta Maurya (330-298 B.C.) the grandfather of Asoka, cleared the country of all foreigners and taught a good lesson to the second Greek invader, Seleukos Nikator, who was forced to cede the provinces of Paropanisadai, Aria, Arachosia and Gedrosia. A treaty to this effect was concluded about 300 B. C. strengthened by a matrimonial alliance, a Hindu emperor marrying a Hellenic wife, in spite of the so-called caste rigidities. The Syrian court sent Megasthenes as an ambassador to the court of Chandragupta. Megasthenes left a valuable book—his *Indika*, and was replaced by Deimachos in the reign of the next emperor Bindusara (298-273 B. C.) who also received another envoy Dionysios sent by Plotemy Philadelphos of Egypt 285-247 B.C.), an ally of Bindusara and of his son Asoka.

Thus down to the end of the reign of Asoka, the Hellenic people looked up to India as a powerful ally and a civilising power and thus the Greeks seldom aspired to impose a civilisation of their own. Historically, also, this is the commencement of the period of steady decadence of Hellas which rendered the Hellenism of this epoch a dangerous solvent of the victorious Roman society. Both in art and literature the Greeks were betraying unmistakable signs of exhaustion and atavism. So, when Hellenism under Heleodorus and Menander made headway for the second time into the very heart of Hindustan, we find some of these Hellenic adventurers already devotees of Hindu faith. The famous Besnagar Column (c. 150 B.C.) announces the conversion of a Greek ruler to Vaishnavism of the Bhāgavata sect; while the Buddhist classic *Milinda-Panho* (the questions of Milinda or Menander) stands as the proof of the assertion of Buddhist thought against Greek mind.

This process continued also in the *realm of art* when the Greek converts to Buddhism, collaborating with their Hindu fellow believers, developed the *Græco-Buddhist art* which exerted such a profound influence on the art evolution of Central Asia (*cf.* Nag: Indian Iconography, "Modern Review," January, 1922).

Thus India through various political vicissitudes, through victory or defeat, was ever transforming the weapons of brute force into tools of human progress—art and literature, philosophy and religion. Her north-western frontier lands remained ever as a veritable laboratory of *Cultural Chemistry.* India has demonstrated so far, that the political nomenclatures like the *Victor* or the *Vanquished* are misnomers. The real thing that counts and lasts for ever is human creation in and through human assimilation.

But now came the period when this principle of amical international assimilation was put to the severest test. During the first half of this millennium (500 B.C. downwards), India had to encounter two nations that had a civilisation of their own—Persia and Greece. Fusion with them was comparatively an easy problem. But throughout the second half of this millennium (down to 500 A.D.) India was confronted with the problem of meeting the real Barbarians from Central Asia, surging down the Himalayas, and threatening to submerge civilisation in a deluge of savagery ! Was India to make no distinction between the civilised and the non-civilised ? Was she to follow still her policy of "the open door"? With supreme faith in her conviction about *international amity* India answered in the affirmative. Yes, she must allow every species of humanity to participate in her life and to test her principle. A law is either universal or nothing. Thus India remains faithful to her historical tradition, whatever may have been the fluctuations of her political destiny.

So when the barbarian Śakas began their trial of India's faith, India accepted as she did accept and assimilate the other branches of the barbarous races—the Kushans and the Huns. No doubt the instinct of conservation manifested itself in the stricter social legislation. The simpler social laws of the early law-books, the Dharma-sûtras, were amplified, sometimes showing inordinate rigidity (not always however ensuring or enforcing practice). Thus the great codes of Manu and Yājñavalkya of Vishṇu and Nārada were all compiled in a systematic fashion by 500 A.D., and through them the Hindu mind betrayed its pre-occupation with the "untouchable Mleccha problem." But actual history always defies the codification of Social Legislators as well as the admonition of Social Censors. Sacerdotal blockade or imperial barricade were futile against subtle sociological fusion. Thus the Four orders of Society—the *Chaturvarṇas*, in spite of their being very ancient and quite orthodox as contended by Oldenberg (Z.D.M.G., Vol. 51) remained generally and especially in this period, *in a state of fluidity* and Senart had good reasons to assert that the *Caste System* was largely a social fiction (Emile Sénart, "Les Castes dans l'Inde: les Faits et la Systeme," 1896). Hence we find frequently glaring exceptions and anomalies, *e.g.*, Mleccha Kings or laymen, our Usabhadātas and Rudradāmans—posing as the Pillars of Orthodoxy! This has been conclusively proved with reference to concrete epigraphic documents by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in his brilliant paper, "The Foreign Elements in Hindu Population" (Indian Antiquary, 1911). The sudden invasion and the continuous infiltration of these savage foreigners into India produced at first an ethnic confusion (*varṇasaṃkara*) and cultural disturbance which threatened to be cataclysmic. It is the phenomenal adaptability or vitality of Hinduism that enabled her to sustain that shock. It produced no doubt at first a laxity in her lofty discipline by the inevitable enfranchisement of diverse religious and social norms. But in another way that apparent lowering of her standard led to a grand enrichment of her cultural life and an unparalleled *democratisation of her culture.* India had already developed the discipline of Faith (*Bhaktimārga*) through the Bhāgavata sects of Vaishṇavism (2nd century B.C.) for the foreign converts. The Bhagavad-gîtā offered, through its philosophical muse, salvation by faith in one God :

> " Leaving everything else aside
> Betake thyself to my unique protection."

And about the same time that the divine prophet of Judæa was putting to shame the whole decadent culture of the Greco-Roman world by his profound expiation for Humanity, India also was transcending her " little path " (Hîna-yāna) of individual salvation and inaugurating her career along the "grand-path " (Mahā-yāna) through her divine solicitude for the All-Being (Sarva-sattva). Her great poet-philosopher Aśvaghoṣa, who composed a magnificent poem on Buddha, the first inculcator of universal amity (*maitrî*), also developed the philosophy of the All-Being as the ultimate goal of individual discipline, in his "Awakening of Faith " (*Śraddhotpāda-Śāstra*) which may be accepted as a landmark in the history of Indian internationalism. Moreover, it was composed by a philosopher who himself was carried away as a part of a tribute imposed on his native city by the barbarian conqueror Kaṇishka."

Thus from the beginning of the Christian era India started playing her role of internationalism not only through her lofty academic philosophy or through the vigorous propagation of a royal personality, but as a whole people following mysteriously a divine impulse, an ecstatic inspiration to sacrifice the *Ego* for the *All.* This grand movement of cultural conquest, this noble dynamic of spiritual imperialism— a legacy of Asoka— soon won for India the inalienable empire over the vast continent, right across Tibet and China to Corea and Japan on the one hand, and across Burma and Indo-China to Java and

Indonesia on the other. The history of this phenomenal progression has yet to be written. It is full of profound lessons for students of internationalism. We can only suggest here a few lines of approach. It was a period of rare give-and-take in human history—between Buddhism and Mazdaism, Manichæism and Christianity, Taoism and Confucianism. It is through years of international collaboration that we may hope to reconstruct this long-forgotten history and to trace the specific contributions of India in this grand Passion-Play of Humanity. Scholars, like Garbe and Vincent Smith, agree with regard to the theory that Buddhism influenced the early development of Christianity[1] which in its turn coloured some of the later Hindu doctrines and creeds. "Although (Asoka's) missionary effort did not succeed in planting Buddhist Churches in foreign countries (excepting Syria) its effects may be traced," says Mr. V. Smith, "obscurely both on the history of Gnostic and Manichaean sects of Christianity." So the great Egyptologist Flinders Patrie, remarks after having discovered portraits of Indian men and women at Memphis: "These are the first remains of Indians known on the Mediterranean. Hitherto there have been no material evidence for that connection which is stated to have existed both by embassies from Egypt and Syria to India and by the great Buddhist missions sent by Asoka as far west as Greece and Cyrene. We seem now to have touched the Indian Colony in Memphis and we may hope for more light on that connection, which seems to have been so momentous for western thought!"[2]

But the most important result of the formulation of the new doctrine of the Grand Vehicle (Mahā-yāna) was not so much on the Western Countries as on the Eastern Asiatic world. Arrian, writing about this epoch, notes in his *Indika* that "a *sense of justice* prevented any Indian King from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India." While remaining true to this tradition with regard to political expansions, Mahā-yāna India set about a *spiritual* conquest that remains to this day a marvel of history. Shaking off the narrow individualism of the old *Theravāda* School, India elaborated (in *Gāndhāra*, that crucible of her cultural experiments) the doctrine of *Sarvāstivāda* asserting that everything external as well as internal is *real.* The classical works of this new school of philosophy, the *Vibhāsā* and the *Mahā-Vibhāsā* were composed by Kātyāyanī-putra, one of the masters of Aśvaghoṣa.[1] The Vaibhāsika sect of *Sarvāstivādins* was strong in the border-lands of the North-western India, in Kashmir, in Gandhara and through Udyana, Kashgar and Persia it entered China. In fact, there are strong traditions about the persistent attempt of China to reach India. In 217 B. C. in the reign of Emperor Tsin Shih Huang-ti, 18 Buddhist monks are said to have been brought to the Chinese capital. But it is a fact well established that the Chinese Columbus in this respect was Chang Kien who succeeded for the first time to penetrate the barbarian zones of the Hiueng-nu to the West of China and to bring definite information about *Ta-hia* (Bactria) and Shen-tu (Sindhu-Hindu) by his intrepid adventures between 128-115 B. C. (*cf.* Nag: Les Theories Diplomatiques de l'Inde Ancienne et l'Arthaśāstra, Paris).

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[1] Kennedy, "Buddhist Gnosticism" (J. R. A. S., 1902).

[2] "Man," Vol. VIII (1906).

About the beginning of the Christian era Yue-chi ambassadors to the Chinese Court are said to have brought some Buddhist Scriptures proving thereby that Buddhism had already spread over a part of Central Asia. Lastly, in 67 A.D. under Emperor Ming-ti we witness the official introduction of Buddhism into China with not only Buddhist Scriptures but statues and also two Indian Monks, Kāśyapa Mātanga and Dharmarakṣa, the former translating the first Chinese

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[1] Dr. Takakusu, "Sarvāstivādins."

Buddhist text: "The 42 sayings of Buddha." In the then capital Loyang, the famous Pai-ma temple was built in the Honan province and many Taoist priests and Confucian nobles were said to have been converted to Buddhism by 71 A.D.

This period coincides with the great Kushan empire in India, which witnessed such a grand development in religion, art and literature that this foreign Mleccha Dynasty underwent a sort of canonisation. Its greatest King Kanishka appeared as a second Asoka. So the principles of the Great Vehicle suggested by Aśvaghoṣa was given a tremendous impetus by its second great philosopher-scientist Nāgārjuna living about this age of illumination with its centre in the Court of Emperor Kanishka who was also a great patron of the Græco-Buddhist art of Gandhara which came gradually to be a sort of international art-language for the whole of Central Asia. So Taxila became a great centre of scientific activities with Charaka as a master of the Medical School and Kātyāyanī-putra its great philosopher, and Aśvaghoṣa as its poet and musician.

But the expansion was not only along the land routes. In this marvellous century Hippalus discovered the Trade-winds, the "monsoons" (79 A.D.) and thereby facilitated sea voyage. "Periplus of the Erythræan Sea," an invaluable journal of some nameless navigator of this age, saved for us by chance, proves the magnitude of the international trade in that epoch extending from Africa *viâ* India and the Malay Peninsula to far off China. Bold Indian mariners were starting to found their culture-colonies in Champā and Cāmbodge in Indo-China, and in the Malay Archipelago as far as Java. For Ptolemy, in his Geography (2nd century A.D.) already calls the Island of Java by its Indian name Jabadiu. So Professor Pelliot in his researches into the history of Fu-nan (ancient Cambodia) finds traces of Indian culture there, already in the 3rd century A.D. and also notices the frequent mention of big ships crossing the seas. (Le Fou-nan: Bulletin. Ecole F. Ex. O., Vol. III.)

Indian legends and stories were already penetrating China by these Sea Routes as Indian religious and philosophical texts were entering by the Land Routes and in course of a few years we find China using both the routes in her grand cultural commerce with India. So, on the one hand, the material wealth of India was rapidly developing an active commerce between India and the Western Worlds, through the Roman Empire, and on the other hand, the invaluable spiritual treasures of India were inducing her far stabler relations with the Eastern World. So Bakarai (port of Kottayam, Travancore) and Bharukaccha (Broach), Vidisā and Vaiśāli, Tāmraparṇi and Tāmralipti, were big centres in this grand international circulation, so well reflected in the wonderful anthologies of popular tales and legends: the Jātakas, the Avadānas and the Kathā literature of India.

By the side of this marvellous development of internationalism through free economic relations and spiritual exchange, the rise and fall of political governments and national empires seem to be quite second rate in importance. The profoundest changes in the life-history of nations are often effected silently by agencies distinctly non-political. So we watch the simultaneous collapse of the Kushana Empire in India and the Han empire in China (circa 225 A.D.); we observe the rise of the Sassanian empire in Persia (226 A.D.), the establishment of the Gupta empire in India (300 A.D.) and the downfall of the Western Roman Empire as the result of the Barbarian invasions (487 A.D.). But through all these rises and falls of empires continues the silent fertilising current of International Commerce—economic as well as spiritual—leading to a phenomenal quickening of human thought and sympathy. Thus through all these periods of political trials and vicissitudes India went on quietly with her work of internationalism; and about the same time that the Huns were to open another chapter of savage onslaught on her bosom, India was sending her sons Kumārajīva and Guṇavarman to China to preach Buddhism while Chinese pilgrims like Fa-hien, Chih-mong and Fa-mong were coming to India to drink at the fountain-head of spiritual wisdom. All the barriers of geography and ethnography have been swept away by the inundation of international amity. India realises herself in a new way by transcending her narrow national limits. That is probably why the greatest poet of this epoch (5th century A.D.) Kālidāsa, the brightest of the "Nine gems" of geniuses adorning the court of Vikramāditya, gives deathless expression to this profound longing of India for the world beyond the Himalayas, through his immortal poem of the "Cloud Messenger" (*Megha-dūta*) addressed to the Beloved of the Great Beyond—almost symbolical of this cosmic passion of India in this golden age of Indian internationalism.

III. RETROSPECT ACROSS THE THIRD MILLENNIUM (CIRCA 500-1500 A.D.). INDIA, THE HEART OF ASIATIC HUMANISM.

The cry of the hero of Kālidāsa's "Cloud Messenger" for his Beloved beyond the barriers of the Himalayas, was a veritable cry of India at that age for the Great Beyond—the Greater India. Out of the sheer fulness of her heart, India had already twice before, under Asoka and Kanishka, plunged into the vast world outside her narrow geographical limits. Each time India transcended her national boundaries, she had developed a civilisation as permanently *national* in the best sense as *international* in its beneficial operation. Now, for the third time we witness the *overflow of Indian Humanism* fertilising the whole of Asia, at the same time, developing an indigenous culture unparalleled in her history. The mere names of Kālidāsa and Varāhamihira, Guṇavarman and Vasubandhu, Aryabhatta and Brahmagupta, are sufficient to mark this epoch as an apogée of Indian culture. Our political historians try to explain this grand development by referring to this or that emperor of this or that dynasty. The Guptas or the Vardhanas of India, the Wei or the T'ang dynasty of China are supposed to have worked the whole miracle! But thanks to the indisputable evidences recovered as the result of the international crusades of archæology in Central Asia, we know that this wonderful transformation was effected by factors far from being political; its progression was mostly along the peaceful *silk-roads* from China and *manuscripts-roads* from India rather than along the path of aggressive imperialism. The Russian archæological missions under Klementz and Kazoloff, French missions under Dutreuil de Rhins and Paul Pelliot, English missions under Dr. Hoernle and Sir Aurel Stein, German missions under Grünwedel and Von Le Coq and Japanese missions under Count Otani and Tachibana, have brought to light a treasure of archæological and artistic finds, masses of inscriptions and manuscripts which, when thoroughly analysed and digested, would revolutionise our conception about the migration of early culture in Eurasia, now viewed generally from the false perspective of isolated national histories of the different countries. With gratitude to the researches of those *savants* I beg to present a rough sketch of this grand movement of cultural exchange between nations and nations.

(*a*) *India and China*: Down to the period of the missionary activities of Kumārajīva (344-413 A.D.) Buddhism and Indian culture penetrated China mainly through the Central Asian routes. Most of the early Sino-Buddhist texts coming down from the Loyang School were from the pen of the Yuch-chi, Parthian or Sogdian converts to Buddhism, working in collaboration with the Chinese Buddhists. In Mahāyāna texts like the *Chandragarbha* and the *Sūryagarbha sūtras* as well as in *Mahāmāyūrī* texts we find a curious admixture of Indian, Khotanese, Iranian and Chinese spirit. Linguistic test also demonstrates that most of these translations were not done directly from Indian classical languages like Sanskrit and Pali but from popular dialects (Prākrits) of various parts.

With the appearance of Fa-hien (399-414 A.D.) one of the earliest of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims to India, the great period of *direct* Sino-Indian collaboration was opened. Classical Buddhist texts like *Dhamma-pada* and *Milinda-pañho* came to be translated *directly* from Indian originals. Fa-hien studied in Pataliputra (Patna) under the great savant Ṛevati, master of Buddha-ghosa, who soon carried the torch of Truth to Ceylon. Since then the history of India and Ceylon are so intimately connected that we shall not attempt here a separate treatment of Indian influences on Ceylon. India in this age was the veritable land of illumination and attracted countless ardent spirits like Fa-hien who took tremendous risk in those days to cross the Takla-makan (Gobi) desert, Khotan and the Pamir ranges to reach the land of his heart's desire. Visiting the great intellectual centres of Taxila and Purusapura, studying for three years at Pātaliputra and two years at Tāmralipti, Fa-hien returned to China having stopped for some time in the Indian colonies of Ceylon and Java on his way.

So Kumārajîva [1] (344-413), a monk, from an Indian family domiciled in Kara-shahr (Kucha), was brought to China as a captive by a Chinese general. This Buddhist captive repaid his captors by working for more than ten years in China, attracting by his phenomenal talent the best Chinese brains of that age. The most veteran men of letters collaborated with Kumārajîva in his work. No wonder that the translations from his pen are recognised to-day as classics of Chinese literature and his version of the "Lotus of the Good Law" (*Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*) still stands as the most valued text of the Chinese-Buddhist scriptures. By sheer genius and devotion

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[1] Sylvain Levi: Journal Asiatique (1913).

Kumārajîva succeeded in reuniting temporarily the Northern (Turco-Mongolian) and the Southern (Indigenous) schools of Chinese Buddhism which had by that time made a tremendous progress amongst the mass of the people.

About the same period another Buddhist missionary, Buddha-bhadra, arrived in China by *sea route* (Shantung) and by his purity of life, great discipline and meditation, influenced profoundly the southern Chinese people, poetic and transcendental in spirit. Here Buddha-bhadra found a field of work congenial to him and by fusing Buddhist meditativeness with Chinese quietism, he laid the foundation of the *Shan-no* (Dhyāna) school of Chinese philosophy and poetry, collaborating with the group of monks, poets and philosophers of the monastery of Mount Lu Shan associated with the name of the great Hui-yuan (416 A.D.).

Simultaneously with Kumārajīva and Buddha-bhadra appears the noble figure of the Prince-monk Guṇavarman[1] who refused his throne of Kashmir, prompted by his zeal for the mission work. He visited Ceylon in 400 A.D. and then crossed over to the island of Java where he found the first Buddhist monastery converting the King and the Queen-mother. Then he appeared in Canton (424 A.D.) and in Nankin, propagating his faith as much by his wonderful religious pantings as by his learned translations. He founded two *vihāras* in Nankin, introduced the strict *Vinaya* system of ordination after the Indian School and organised the first congregation of Chinese nuns. After his death in China (431 A.D.) we read of the arrival of two batches of nuns from Ceylon under Tissara (?) organising the Chinese nunneries after Sinhalese model. So during this epoch the relation between India and China through Ceylon and Java by the sea route was quite intimate and Dr. Takakusu opines (J.R.A.S., 1896) that the great Indian missionary, Buddhaghosa, also visited China from his base of work in Ceylon. No wonder that China acknowledges her gratitude by translating (472 A.D. from an Indian original now lost) and cherishing the "Lives of Twenty-three Indian Patriarchs," comprising the careers of great Buddhist saints like Kāśyapamātanga, Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu and others. But while a few such names have been fortunately preserved, hundreds are lost. And we are as much thankful to those nameless and unknown workers of humanity as to the group of the more fortunate known. The precious researches of Edouard Chavannes and Sylvain Levi have recovered for us many such grand, yet long forgotten, personalities: Chih-mong and Fa-mong (contemporary of Fa-hien, 400 A.D.) from China and Sanghasena and Guṇa-vriddhi from India (492 A.D.).

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[1] *Cf.* E. Chavannes, "Guṇavarman," T'oung Pao, Vol. V,

In the sixth century we witness a phenomenal development in sea-communication between India and China *viá* Malay Archipelago. The first notable case of sea voyage from India was that of Bodhidharma who came to south China in 520 A.D. and worked in the same field as Buddhabhadra, amongst the mystic population of China. Bodhidharma is said to have remained silent for the first *nine years*; Yet he exerted a profound influence on Chinese mind and "opened a powerful stream of meditative naturalism in China and Japan."

The second case of sea voyage was that of the Indian savant Paramārtha, the famous biographer of the Buddhist philosopher Vasubandhu (420-500 A.D.). Having arrived in China in 546 A.D., Paramārtha was cordially invited to Nankin in 548 A.D,. He was not only the translator of the works of Asanga and Vasubandhu, the pillars of the *realistic school* of Buddhist Idealism, but was also the first propagator of the *Yogāchāra* school of thought before Hiuen-Tsang.

With the unification of the North and the South under the auspices of the T'ang Dynasty (617-910 A.D.) recovering control over Central Asia, there opened the most glorious period of Asiatic Art and Philosophy through the vigorous collaboration of India and China. The invaluable records left by the two great Chinese pilgrims Hiuen-Tsang (629-645 A.D.) and It-sing (700 A.D.) bear testimony to the fact that India had come to be the very heart of Asiatic Humanism. That explains partly the jealous attacks on Buddhist organisations in China from contemporary Taoist and Confucian rivals. Yet it must be admitted that through every phase of this evolution India had been shaping vigorously the whole fabric of Chinese thought and æsthetics. On the one hand, the Indian spirit was so marvellously naturalised in China that the Sino-Indian texts even to-day, "form an integral part of the Chinese language and literature." While recent discoveries of Sir Aurel Stein and Paul Pelliot in the marvellous grottos of Touen Houang prove the phenomenal fusion of Hellenistic and Iranian, Christian and Manichaean streams of thought and culture under the grand transforming agency of Buddhism. "Anything that came from India brought with it a high prestige." Indian models of Buddhist art were closely followed; Indian imagery and symbolism, Indian ideals of form were taken over by Chinese masters and therefore their Buddhist pictures show a striking contrast to their secular drawings and paintings. The Touen Houang pictures show the wonderful fusion of Sino-Indian styles and the T'ang masters of Touen Houang were closely followed by early Japanese masters. Thus the chance discovery[1] of this desert grotto with its "polyglot Library and wonderful art treasures, has contributed so much to our knowledge of the history of international intercourse! Touen Houang, situated on the great highway stretching across Asia from China to the Mediterranean where it intersected the main routes from Mongolia in the north and Tibet and India in the south—naturally shows the relics of the historical fusion of the Orient and the Occident and that is why the Chinese Buddhist paintings of the T'ang period are considered, by experts like Raphaeal Petrucci and Laurence Binyon to inaugurate "one of the greatest periods of creative art in world history."

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[1] *Cf.* Sir Aurel Stein—Ruins of Desert Cathay" and Serindia; Paul Pelliot—Touen Houang.

(*b*) *India and Korea*: From China Buddhism naturally entered Korea. As early as 374 A.D. two monks A-tao and Shun-tao, both foreigners, were invited from North China to the capital of Koryo (modern Pien-yang). In 384 A.D. certain Matananda (a curious Indian name) was welcomed by the court of the Paikchai (middle Korea) and was backed by a fresh batch of Indian and Chinese missionaries. Towards the middle of the 5th century Buddhist propaganda advanced to the south and an ascetic called the "Black Foreigner" preached the doctrine of the *Tri-ratna* (triple gem) after having been famous by curing with his wonderful science a princess of the Silla kingdom which recognised Buddhism officially in 528 A.D.

Between 540-576 A. D. we read about a king and a queen of Korea taking to the robes of monks and nuns. In 551 A. D. a sort of Buddhist Patriarchate was created with a Korean priest as the archbishop of the realm and Buddhism continued to shine with incomparable radiance down to the 10th century when Korea was under the Koryo dynasty (918 A. D.). So Korea still remains a rich and virgin field of Buddhist archæology as yet unexplored. We may hope that some day the friendly collaboration of Chinese, Korean and Japanese scholars would unfold to the world the history of Korean Buddhism.

(*c*) *India and Japan* :[1] The small country of Korea had the unique privilege of presenting to Japan one of its greatest civilising agencies—continental Buddhism. Chinese learning had penetrated Japan as early as the 5th century

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[1] *Cf.* Dr. Anesaki, "Buddhist Mission" in "the Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics,' and Dr. Takakusu, What Japan owes to India in the *Young East*, Vols. II-VI.

A. D. ; but it was Korea that made the first official presentation in 538 A. D. of a gilt statue of Buddha, some beautiful banners and sacred texts to the Japanese court, as a sign of homage and friendship. The accompanying message from Korea was also noble, declaring that "Buddha-dharma the most excellent of all laws which bring immeasurable benefit to its believers ... had been accepted in all lands lying between India and Korea." The opposition of the conservative party only accentuated the zeal of progressive Japan and with the fall of the anti-Buddhist party in 587 A.D. Prince Umayado or Shotoku (593-622 A.D.), the Constantine of Japan, made Buddhism the state religion of Japan. He invited Korean monks to teach the sciences like astronomy and medicine to his people and sent Japanese students to China to study Buddhism. With the influx of Buddhist monks and savants came artists, artisans and physician-philanthropists as the rear-guards of religion. And here, as everywhere, Buddhism built its influence on the solid foundation of the philanthropic and æsthetic instincts of the believers. Thus there grew up asylums, hospitals, dispensaries as well as the great treasures of Art: painting, sculpture and architecture, wherever the New Faith went. We hear of Chinese missionary Kan-jin (754-763 A.D.) organising medical missions and founding botanical gardens. So the Indian missionary Bodhisena, a Brahmin of *Bhāradwāja gotra*, came to Japan in 736 A.D. with his Cham (of the Hindu colony of Champā) and Chinese followers, many of whom were artists and musicians and Bodhisena worked as the Buddhist Bishop of Japan till his death in 760 A. D., always known as the "Brahmin Bishop."

These missionaries not only introduced but developed many useful arts, knowing full well that art is a great handmaid to religion. Indian lyre (*vīnā*) and other musical instruments as well as bas-reliefs in the Græco-Buddhist style are preserved in the Imperial treasury of Japan dating from 8th century A.D. With profound respect for individual development these Buddhist workers never imposed anything by force ; so that everywhere their advent was followed by a phenomenal growth of native arts and crafts. Thus the medical and the artistic missionaries played almost as great a part as saints and learned scholars in the propagation of the Indian faith.

During the whole of the 8th century the famous Nara Period (708-794 A.D.) the movement of Peace and Illumination spread from the capital city to the provinces where many people now began to endow religious and philanthropic institutions and these humanitarian works soon "converted the whole of Japan into Buddhadom," Japanese sculpture and painting began to awaken to its career of world-famous creation while the constant contact with China brought from time to time different schools of Buddhist thought. The mystic *Mantra* sect, introduced into China in the 8th century by Śubhakarasiṃha and Amoghavajra, entered Japan in 9th century and even some of the esoteric sects like the Dharmalakṣaṇa, organised by Asanga, while losing hold on India and China, were preserved in the Japanese school of Buddhist philosophy. Far from imposing a foreign system to the detriment of the independent development of the indigenous peoples, Buddhism liberated the dormant springs of individual creative activities. So within two centuries of the official introduction of Buddhism we find the Japanese people developing cults, sects and schools of philosophy and art of their own. The brightest stars of Japan in the 9th century like Saicho and Kobo were pioneers of real Japanese Buddhism independent of continental influences : Saicho (767-822 A.D.) founded the famous sect called *Tendai-shu*, preaching " Buddha the historical revealer of Truth as the full enlightenment and the realisation of such Buddhahood in one's own consciousness as the supreme object of all mysteries, virtues and wisdom." Another sect called the *Shingon-shu* was founded by Kobo or Kukai (774-835 A.D.). He preached that "the Universe is but Buddha externalised and that the Buddha within us may be called forth by the practice of the mystery in heart, in conduct and in speech."

The *Tendai* and *Shingon* sects exerted powerful influence amongst the refined and cultured aristocracy of Japan. But the stoic military class and the superstitious mass also were evolving their own suitable systems out of Buddhism. Since the beginning of the 12th century, internal troubles and disasters of Japan slowly developed a pessimism which wanted less philosophical and more emotional form of religion to satisfy the people. So *Horen* (1133-1212 A.D.) appeared denouncing all philosophy as effete and all mysteries as useless. He preached the doctrine of *Sukhāvati*, the Japanese Jodo or "The Western Paradise" according to which any creature, ignorant or wise, high or low could be saved by simple faith in the boundless grace of *Amitābha*.

Side by side, we watch the marvellous transformation of the primitive Shintoism under Buddhist influences, when men like Chika-fusa (1339 A.D.) developed a new syncretism representing all popular animistic gods of Shintoism as the *avatāras* of Buddha.

Lastly the stoical *samurai* military class discovered its firm support in the philosophy of the Zen (*Dhyāna*) sect introduced into Japan in 1250 A. D. by some disciples of the old *Shan-no* (*Dhāyana*) sect of China, organised by Indian missionaries like Buddha-bhadra and Bodhi-dharma. Thus while India herself, on account of her pre-occupation with narrow domestic problems forgot all about her far-off cultural colonies of Korea and Japan, the devoted philosophers and master artists of Japan were worshipping the ineffable personality of *Buddha-Amitābha* and covering temple after temple with the marvellous figure of the Indian saint, *Pinḍola Bhāradwāja*.

(*d*) *India and Tibet:* Tibet was rather late in emerging from its state of savage isolation. It is significant that the very first king who brought Tibet up to Asiatic importance, was in close contact with India and China: King Srong-btsan-Gampo (630-698 A. D.) married an Indian (Nepalese) princess as well as a Chinese one; the former introduced the Hindu-Buddhist cult of *Tārā* along with other occult practices while the latter brought Chinese Buddhism and priests. Not stopping here, Gampo sent his able minister *Thummi Sambhota* to India, where he studied and gradually evolved out of the Devanāgari script, the present Tibetan alphabet. The next King Khri-Srong-de-blsan (740-786 A.D.) invited learned scholars from India and with their noble collaboration the Tibetans soon managed to have a scripture and literature of their own. The names of Indian savants like *Padmasambhava* and his disciple *Pagur Vairochana* are ever memorable in Tibetan history. Translations and adaptations of Indian texts continued vigorously down to the appearance of the great personality of *Dīpaṃkara Srījnāna* or *Atisa* (1038 A. D.) from Bengal who effected a veritable reformation in the religious history of Tibet.

Naturally primitive and gross by temperament the Tibetans did not develop any independent system of their own as was done by the Chinese or the Japanese. Most of their translation works are too faithful, almost mechanical. So their standard compilations like the *Kandjour* (book of revelation—words of Buddha) and the *Tandjour* (book of tradition) stand to-day as curious collections of religion and magic, science and poetry. No doubt they translated from time to time, classical works of Indian literature like the famous lexicon of *Amarakoṣa* and the *Meghadūta* "Cloud Messenger" of Kālidāsa, the grammar of *Chandragomin* and the treatise on painting and Iconography like the "Chitralakshaṇa";—yet we cannot help noticing that the Tibetans showed almost a morbid preference for the mystical and magical texts of later debased Buddhism: the *Vajra-yāna*, the *Kālachakra-yāna*, etc., which went to the formation of Lamaism.

Here we find the alchemist-philosopher *Nāgārjuna* tacitly preferred to Buddha himself! So the savage pre-Buddhist Shamanism of the Bon cult, the crude magic and devil-charming rituals common to mountainous tribes, came to be mixed up with Indian Buddhism. Still it effected a miracle by gradually transforming the mentality of the people. Mr. Waddel who lived amongst the Tibetans for a long time and who is one of the leading authorities on Tibetan history, writes :

> "The current of Buddhism which runs through its tangled Paganism has brought to the Tibetan most of the little civilisation which he possesses and has raised him correspondingly in the scale of humanity, lifting him above a life of semi-barbarism by setting before him higher hopes and aims, by giving milder meanings to his demonist mythology, by discountenancing sacrifice of animal lives and by inculcating universal charity and tenderness to all living things."

With the conquest of China and Central Asia by the Mongol chief Chengiz Khan (died 1227 A.D.) and his successor Kubilai Khan (1260 A.D.) Tibetan Buddhism was established as a sort of theocracy by Lama Phagspa,[1] the Tibetan ally of Kubilai. Through the intermediary of Tibet, the arts of India and Nepal (especially *Bronze casting*) reached the courts of the Buddhist-Mongolian emperors of China and always prized as works of rare craftsmanship and great value. Phagspa[2] (Tibetan for Arya) died in 1280 A.D. and was succeeded by Lama Dharmapāla in the office of the Imperial Chaplain of the Mongol emperors of China. The noble activities of these Buddhist workers in this epoch connected the Tibetans, the Mongols and the Ouigur Turks (in the frontiers of Siberia) in one bond of spiritual union.

(*e*) *India and South-eastern Asia :* The whole of the eastern Asiatic world may be linguistically divided into three main sections : (*i*) *Koreo-Japanese*, (*ii*) *Sino-*

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[1] Prof. Paul Pelliot : Lectures on Lamaism in College de France (1922-23).

[2] Huth (G) : "Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei (1893).

Tibetan, and (*iii*) *Malay-Polynesian*. We have, so far, traced the influence of Indian humanism on the nations of the first two groups. Now, passing on to the third group, we remember the border land of Burma. From Burma we shall march through *Siam*, *Cambodia* (in fact the whole of the *Transgangetic peninsula*) to the *Malay Archipelago* (with Sumatrā, Java, Bali and other islands) till at last we are in the heart of *Indonesia*. The whole history of this vast area was enveloped in deep obscurity till very recent times. Thanks to the researches of the *French* and the *Dutch* scholars who are pioneers in this branch of investigation, we have now a fairly clear view of the history of South-eastern Asia. With every fresh archæological discovery or philological analysis, we are more and more convinced of the fact that down to quite late periods (13th-14th centuries) when Islam penetrated this area, the greatest formative influence on the life and history of the peoples of south-eastern Asia was that of India, backed by China in certain parts.

The archæological finds in this part of the world are of a comparatively late period. So the scholars of the last generation were rather sceptic with regard to the possibility of early penetration of Indian influence. But now we cannot but think that long before a king feels inclined to get a grandiloquent panegyric of his career inscribed on a rock or a copper-plate, that long before a community is capable of rearing a great architectural monument, a people discovers another people quite normally *any time*, propelled by the *spirit of adventure*, economic or spiritual. So it is not *primâ facie* improbable that Indian missionaries reached south-eastern Asia about the same period that they had been penetrating the Far-Western and the Far-Eastern regions.

The very fact that Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.) names many of the places in his Geography of this region in an Indian way up to Java, proves that the Indians were already in the field. The earliest inscriptions of *Champā* (Indo-China) bearing evidences of Indian (simultaneously *Brahmanic* and *Buddhist*) influence, go as far back as the 2nd century A.D. Prof. Paul Pelliot, one of the greatest living authorities on the history of this area, believes that apart from the *great Central Asian route*, there were *two other old roads* of communication for the Eastern Asiatic peoples: one was the land-route from India *viâ* Assam and Burma to China and another was the sea-route *viâ* Indo-Chinese coasts. And Pelliot discovers in Chinese documents that India appears in the history of *Funan* (ancient Cambodia) as early as 3rd century A.D. Thus, although the materials are as yet scanty, we may state that in course of their *first movement of expansion*, the Indians left unmistakable traces of their influence on Pegu (Burma) and Champā, Sumatra and Java, though the despatching of Asokan missionaries to Burma may be a later fabrication.

The *second wave of cultural colonisation* was in the 5th century A.D.—a period of great internal prosperity and intellectual maturity in the history of India. During this century not only *Champā* and *Cambodge* were thoroughly hinduised but fresh Hindu colonies appear in the Malay Peninsula, in *Siam* and in *Sumatra* and *Java.* This is the epoch when *Aryabhatta* (b. 476 A.D.) and *Varāhamihira* (505-587 A.D.) were assimilating the Hellenic sciences, when Gunavarman (dying in Nankin 431 A.D.) was converting Java to Buddhism, when the famous frescoes of Ajanta were recording in their charming language the fusion of Indo-Persian culture. In this grand epoch of *Hindu renaissance*, there was no exclusive *caste* prohibitions and no intolerant sectarianism. Hence we find Brahmanism and Buddhism, in fact all sects and denominations were flourishing peacefully in these cultural colonies of India in South-eastern Asia. The history of this movement of Hindu syncretism and cultural synthesis in this region of *Magna India*, has yet to be written.

Burma is linguistically related to Tibet but it came in touch with Indian civilisation much earlier. The introduction of Buddhism by Asokan missionaries (3rd century B. C.) may or may not be true; but it is strongly urged by native tradition that *Buddhaghosa* established the Hînayāna Buddhism in Burma from Ceylon about 450 A.D. Meanwhile sinologues have discovered in the Chinese *Tai annals*, sufficient evidences to assert that even *Buddhaghosa*, the champion of the Ceylonese Hînayāna was not first in this field. He had his predecessors in the missionaries of the Mahāyāna and the Brahmanical systems in Burma. This is corroborated by the interesting collection of *Pyu* inscriptions (5th century A.D.) which bear traces of borrowing from Sanskrit vocabulary through the medium of *living dialects* (Prākrits) of Eastern India and not through the canonical language Pali. So there is every possibility of early contact with Sanskrit Mahāyāna through Eastern Bengal and Assam. From that period down to the present day, Burma like Ceylon remains in religion and culture, essentially a part of India.

Siam was also formally converted during the period of Hindu expansion. Buddhism was introduced into Siam from Cambodia and like Cambodia it remained faithful to the Ceylonese or the southern Pali Buddhism. Mon. Cabaton, an authority on the history of these peoples affirm that until the advent of the Portuguese navigators (16th century), Siam was completely within the cultural influence of India :

> "It received its first civilisation from the Brahmins of India and then from the merchants from the Malabar and the Coromandel (coast); and along with Cambodia and Laos, Siam remained permeated with Indian civilisation until the east coast of Indo-China accepted Chinese civilisation. There are still extant noteworthy archæological witnesses of this primitive *hinduisation* of Siam in the monuments of its former capitals, *Savankhalok*, *Sukhòkai* and *Lopburi*. The former and present religions of Siam (*i.e.*, Brahmanism and Buddhism), its sacred language, its civil institutions, its writing, its arts, and its literature, came from India. In the 13th century the *Thai* alphabet, the prototype of the

present alphabet was invented by the help of *Brahmin gurus* on the model of the Indian writing already in use in the country. All this civilisation has been preserved and diffused up to the present day by the monks who are, as a rule, the educators of the people.........."

Leaving aside the as yet obscure problem of pre-Aryan, even pre-Dravidian contact of Southern and Eastern India with the Mon-khmer and the Malay-Polynesian world, we may still safely assert that there were very early maritime communications across the Indian Ocean, connecting the African Archipelago (including Madagascar) with the Malay Archipelago. The island of Ceylon or Taprobane was a sort of a halting stage in this grand oceanic traffic. The very frequent confusion between Indian, Malay and African place-names made by classical travellers and geographers are, in the light of our latest researches in geography, highly significant. It is now beyond doubt that audacious Indian mariners reached Ceylon as well as Sumatra, Java as well as Madagascar in very early times. Fa-hien and Guṇavarman (400 A. D.) followed only the traditional maritime route of Indian Oceanic migration. The Malay Peninsula served both as a *great causeway* for the migrations from the Asiatic continent and as a *rendezvous* for merchants and peoples from widely separated countries. In Sumatra the Malayan races were moulded by Indian influences into a comparatively civilised condition before they crossed over to the Peninsula. The oldest foreign loan-words in Malay are *Sanskrit*, including words for religious, moral and intellectual ideas with some astronomical, mathematical and botanical terms, a court vocabulary and a large number of everyday words. In their pantheon the greater gods are Hindu while the lesser gods are Malay. Their cosmology is also Hindu. Only in one branch, in their art, both industrial and ornamental, the Mon-khmer peoples, while deriving the ideas and inspiration from India (China did not play a great part here before the T'ang period, 6th century A. D.), preserve their distinct individuality. Both in the architectural motifs and decorative evolution, the *Khmer art* will always occupy a grand place in the general history of Asiatic æsthetics.

So it is not at all surprising to note that the famous Chinese-Buddhist pilgrim *It-Sing*[1] twice visited (in 671 and 698 A. D.) Sumatra (then known as the kingdom of *Srî Vijaya*) and stayed for seven years (688-695 A. D.) in the capital city *Srî-Bhoja* (modern Palembang) studying and translating Indian texts. More than 1,000 monk-savants studied here all the subjects that were taught in Indian centres of learning. In fact this daughter university of Sumatra had already become so important that *Dharmapāla*, the celebrated Mahāyāna professor of the great Nalanda University (Behar) before the visit of Hiuen-Tsang, went to *Suvarṇa-dvîpa* (Sumatra) in his old age most probably as a veteran *Director of Indian Studies*. Between the age of *It-Sing* (700 A. D.) and that of the Mahāyāna Buddhist king *Aditya-varman* of Middle Sumatra (1350 A. D.) we have as yet very few records. In the 14th century, Sumatra, under king Aditya-varman was still erecting the statue of *Jina Amoghapāśa* (a *tantric* incarnation of *Avalokiteswara*) in the temple of *Padang Chandi*, with an inscription in barbarous Sanskrit. But already the north of Sumatra had been converted to Islamism which soon overwhelmed the whole of the island.

Java[2] was from very early times noticed in Indian literature. Rāmāyaṇa describes Java (and probably also Sumatra known as the *Suvarṇa-dvîpa*) as rich in *gold mines*. Fa-hien found it necessary to pay a visit to this island, in early 5th century. Like Sumatra, Java was the stronghold of the Buddhist sect of the *Mûla-sarvāstivādins*. Their scriptures being in Sanskrit was much valued locally, but frequently those texts checked the spontaneous development of Javanese-Buddhist art which remained a little too faithful and rigidly documentary as noticed by Mon. Foucher. In the 8th century the Mahāyāna Buddhism gained a firm footing in Java. In 778 A. D. a king of the *Śailendra Dynasty* commemorates the erection of a statue and a temple of *Arya-Tārā* (a *śakti* of *Avalokiteśwara*) by an inscription in *Sanksrit* language and in a north Indian script (not in *Kawi* or old Javanese). Dr. H. Kern, the great Dutch savant, expressed his opinion to the effect that the *Tāntrik-Mahāyānists* came to Java from Western Bengal. The temple of *Arya Tārā* is now in ruins, known as *Chandi Kalasan.* The splendid monuments of architecture, which appear in Java about the 9th century bear the impress of Mahāyāna Buddhism. But the later Javanese art as well as the Javanese literature and inscriptions are largely *Hindu Śaiva.* That seems to show that a great bulk of the people in Java and especially in the island of Bali were allowed to practise and profess other cults of Hinduism even when the ruling houses were officially adopting Buddhism. Down to the middle ages, the relation between official Buddhism and non-official popular Hinduism, was marked by perfect tolerance and friendliness which produced a wonderful fusion of religious thought and art-styles.

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[1] *Cf.* Dr. Takakusa: It-Sing (1896). Coedes: Le royaume de Srîvijaya: B. E. F. E. O. (1917).

[2] *Cf.* H. Kern: "Java, Bali and Sumatra."

In the 9th century we witness the *third grand wave* of cultural colonisation mainly from South India. The kingdom of Śrî-vijaya (Sumatra) suddenly becomes a great civilising agency extending its influence over Java as well as a part of South India and their name appears in an inscription of Nalanda. Impregnated with the spiritual and æsthetic ideals of India, Java now created the wonderful temple of Boro-Budar, a marvel of oriental architecture. Buddhism was a favourite religion with Javanese sovereigns from king Sree Iśānavijaya Dharmottungadeva (950 A.D.) to Tribhuvanottunga Devi, the queen ruling over the whole of Java (1350 A.D.) But other forms of Hindu religion, especially Saivism were tolerated and widely practised by a large part of the population. That is why probably during the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries when the *Mon-khmer art* reached its apogée, we find in Java, the great *Prambanam* and Panataram temples consecrated to Brahmanical deities; and in Cambodia, the famous Saiva temple of Angkor Thom (9th century) and the marvellous monument of Angkor-Vat (completed 1150 A.D.) dedicated to Vishṇu, by the Cambodian King *Parama Vishnuloka.* "These monuments," remarks Mon. Cabaton, "give evidence to this day of cultural and artistic gifts so incompatible with the intellectual apathy of the *Khmers*, that some scholars are inclined to think that the grandeur of the empire was due to a Hindu colony which governed the country (Cambodia) from the 8th to the 14th century." However, the invasions of the Annamites and the Siamese during the 12th and 13th centuries led to a gradual decadence, and the downfall of Champā and Cambodge was complete when Islam swept over the whole area like a hurricane.

Leaving aside the question of the reciprocal influence of the Hindu and the Islamic history we shall note summarily the main features of India's role in the history of South-eastern Asia. Unlike the thoroughly pacific cultural penetration of India in Serindia, China and Japan, her expansion over South-eastern Asia was not unaccompanied by occasional political conquests or military occupations. However, what India brought as her real contributions to these regions were not the conquering tribes or dynasties (long forgotten!) but a veritable *fertilising influence* in the domain of intellectual and artistic creation. That is why a veteran philologist like Dr. Skeat found after an elaborate analysis that the oldest loan-words in this linguistis group are words for *religious, moral* and *intellectual* ideas coming from India. So, in the highly interesting monograph on the "Indonesians" Mr. Kruijt notices how the name for *God* in most of the languages of this world is derived from the Indian word *Devatā.* "In Siau the highest god is called

Duata which is also found among the Macassars and Buginese as Dewata, among the Dayaks as Jebata, Jata, among the Mongondouians as *Duata* and among the people of the Philippine islands as *Divata*, *Davata*, *Diuata*." So the Sanskrit word *Bhattāra* is found in more or less changed forms in many Indonesian languages in the sense of God, *e.g.*, *Batara guru* who appears with *Soripada* and *Manalabulan* as the three most important deities of Malay Archipelago as pointed out by Dr. H. Kern. And what is still more amazing is the recent discovery of Indian influence on the formation of early Polynesian poetry and mythology. Mr. A. H. Keane's remarks in this connection deserve quoting :

> "At times the Polynesian singers appear to soar into the ethereal spaces and to realise the concept of a Supreme Being............Tangaroa is spoken of as Toivi, the Eternal or else like the Hindu *Brahma* or the Dodonian Zeus that 'was is and shall be'..........described in the loftiest language as dwelling 'in the limitless void of space, when the world was not yet nor the heavens nor the sea, nor man.' Such sublime conceptions, such subtle theosophies, such personifications of Chaos, Immensity, Gloomy Night and other pure abstractions, in these children of nature, excite wonder and remain inexplicable in their present fragmentary state. Everywhere we find Heaven, Earth, the Universe, the Afterworld recurring under diverse names and forms, personified by language embodied in theocratic and anthropomorphic philosophies—*echoes as it were of the Vedic hymns* reverberating from isle to isle over the broad Pacific waters. The question arises: *Have there been Vedic contacts* ? It is a chronological question which cannot be answered until the date is approximately determined of the eastward migration of the Indonesians from Malaysia. Did the migration precede or follow the arrival of the Hindu missionaries in that region ?"

Thus listening to these profound hymns of the Polynesian Vedas amidst the vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean, we seem to catch the real *secret of India's success* in her career of internationalism. In spite of occasional lapses to militarism on the part of individual sovereigns, the *Indian people as a whole, stuck substantially to the principle of Peace and*

Progress. They respected the individuality of the races and nations which came into contact with them, offering their best and evoking the best in others. Thus India managed to leave a record of collaboration in the realm of the Sublime and the Beautiful, quite remarkable in world history. The political conquerors and economic exploiters may have been there too ; but they never played a dominant role in this grand drama of Creative Unity. That is why, when the names of the great kings and emperors were forgotten, the people of these cultural colonies cherished with gratitude the memory of the services rendered by the innumerable Indian monks and teachers, artists and philanthropists—selfless workers for human progress and international amity.[1]

KALIDAS NAG

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[1] This paper was read in connection with a *Symposium* on "The Role of Internationalism in the Development of Civilisation," invited by the Peace Congress of Lugano (Switzerland) in 1922 which was attended by the master spirits of modern Europe like Romain Rolland, Bertrand Russel, Hermann Hesse and others. I beg to express in this connection my best thanks to my friends of the "International League of Women for Peace and Freedom" for provoking this study and for publishing a *French version* of this monograph in the Rassegna Internazionale (Rome, April 1923)—K. N.

LATE MR. S. M. MITRA: A STUDY OF HIS WRITINGS

Born and brought up under the influence of Western civilisation, the late Mr. Mitter did not lose the Oriental flavour of his mind. A man of wide culture and gifted with versatile powers, he studied the Indian problems with the avidity of a scholar, looked at them from the isolation of an official, and drew inferences which are as much characterised by a stamp of originality as by eccentricity. We may not see eye to eye with him, but to say that he has lived or written in vain is, to say the least, most uncharitable. He felt an exultant pride in his being known as a Bengalee, and waxed eloquent and warm when writing about the potency of his own mother-tongue. One would not be far from truth if one were to say that in one sense he was a genuine patriot. He wielded a powerful pen and was the proud possessor of a charming style—a style which throws a most pleasing, I might say, fascinating, garb over the dry details of statistics, as is witnessed in the study of such problems as "The Separation of the Judicial from the Executive Functions," "India and Imperial Preference," "Industrial Development," etc. One is almost bewildered at the vast range of subjects over which he extends his flight, ranging from the Rig Veda down to the political utterances of Lords Minto and Morley, and with the unerring swoop of an eagle from a giddy height he picks up materials from various regions to appease his intellectual appetite.

The two most famous books, which should keep his memory far beyond the dark region of obscurity are (1) "Indian Problems," and, (2) "Anglo-Indian Studies." Both these books illustrate to a remarkable degree the facile style, the lucid manner and the reasoning mind of the author. I have never come across better books to give an average educated Indian information on many intricate problems, and with the picturesque beauty of a finished work of art. A glance at the above books, which are a veritable store-house of information, would make even the casual reader rich with a wealth of detail beyond all expectations. To quote only a few of such from his books :—

(*a*) Such legislation (Act XXI of 1850) may appeal to the theorist and the jurist, but cannot fail to undermine Imperial interests in India.

(*b*) It is not generally known that as early as the tenth century, under Sebaktagin, the father of the great iconoclast, Mahmud of Ghazni, two Hindu generals commanded the Ghazni army—General Sundar at Herat and General Tilak at Merv, the two great strongholds of Islam in Central Asia.

(*c*) The distinguished Buddhist preacher who penetrated the wilds of Tibet in the eighth century was Santa Rakshita, a native of Gaur. He formally introduced the religion of the Buddha into Tibet. Among other Bengalis who marched in the van, centuries before England had anything to do with India, may be mentioned Pandit Dipankara, another native of Malda. In the 9th century he went to Pegu to preach Buddhism.

On page 21 of his "Indian Problems", he gives the names of six Europeans who were hanged in India for the murder of natives, as illustrative of the impartiality of British justice.

His frequent reference to the Arabic and Persian writers is an eloquent testimony of his reputation as a scholar, and his unstinted homage to every notable Indian gives an insight into the true patriotic heart that beat within his breast. At the same time I may mention that the opinions expressed by him are in many cases open to dispute, as, for example, when he says that the Partition of Bengal was "an excellent administrative act" or that "The Indian National Congress is an annual Picnic."

His chapter on "Moslem-Hindu Entente Cordiale" from his "Anglo-Indian Studies" is replete with interesting facts which happened in the Moghul period and which are as instructive as refreshing. He has brought home to his readers in a very convincing manner, peculiar to himself, how Hindus and Moslems cannot but live as children of the same parents as they did centuries ago. The cementing element of love between these two sister communities in India has simply to be re-assured in order to form the solid bed-rock on which the British Empire will stand firm and fixed, defying all political upheavals and racial recriminations. Moslem sovereigns depended on the skill of their Hindu generals for the extension and safety of their vast territories. The Hindus in their turn never distrusted their Non-Hindu rulers and lived in amity and peace. All this, he says, was in order to denounce the unstatesmanlike policy of "Divide and Rule." No one can take exception to the following statement of his, "without confidence in the *bona-fides* of a Government, no foreign power can rule over a population of 315 millions by force alone." His criticisms in this connection are thoroughly characterised by moderation.

I would commend to every Britisher engaged in the administration of the country and to every serious student of Indian history the study of these two books, especially the chapters headed "British Statesmanship and Indian Psychology," "The Indian Unrest," "Hindu Mind-Training" and "The Balkan War andIndia," from *Anglo-Indian Studies*. They will give him much food for reflection, and will serve as a guide in the solution of many questions to which he might not possibly have given the least attention. He will find truth stated with refreshing candour and many striking and original ideas interspersed in the course of the author's observations. He has struck altogether a different note when he says that England, by removing the Capital to Delhi, has placed herself more within the sway of Moslem influence than the authorities would care to admit. In another place he observes, "In transferring the Capital to the old centre of Indian Imperialism, England has in a flash aroused memories to a degree that thousands of demagogues and agitators could not have done in a century. Was it wise to awaken ambitions and sentiments if they cannot be gratified? It should now be England's policy to make the hundreds of millions of her Indian subjects feel that they are not hopelessly sunk beneath, but living up to, the traditions of their distinguished past as represented by Delhi, otherwise they may weigh Britain in the balance and find her wanting. Would it not be a dangerous experiment for a man to take up his abode with his wife in a house where she had lived prosperously with a former husband, where every room, every detail of the furniture would speak to her in a hundred voices of the past? Or what would be thought of a man who every morning at the breakfast table insisted on his wife reading over the love-letters which her first husband penned to her in their happy courtship days? Could he reasonably expect her to turn a smiling face towards him? Something similar is the risk that England has unwittingly taken in her new Indian Capital." His deep insight into the psychology of the oriental mind is nowhere more apparent than where he asks the British Government to consider the effect of the transfer of the British Indian Capital from Calcutta to Delhi. To adjust British Delhi to Moghul Delhi, as he says elsewhere, is no easy matter. And the shrewd observation which he *then* makes in this connection and the fresh outlook which he brings to bear on the treatment of the subject will make his name live as one of those veteran publicists and statesmen who interpreted Indian sentiment to the British public to the mutual advantage of England and India.

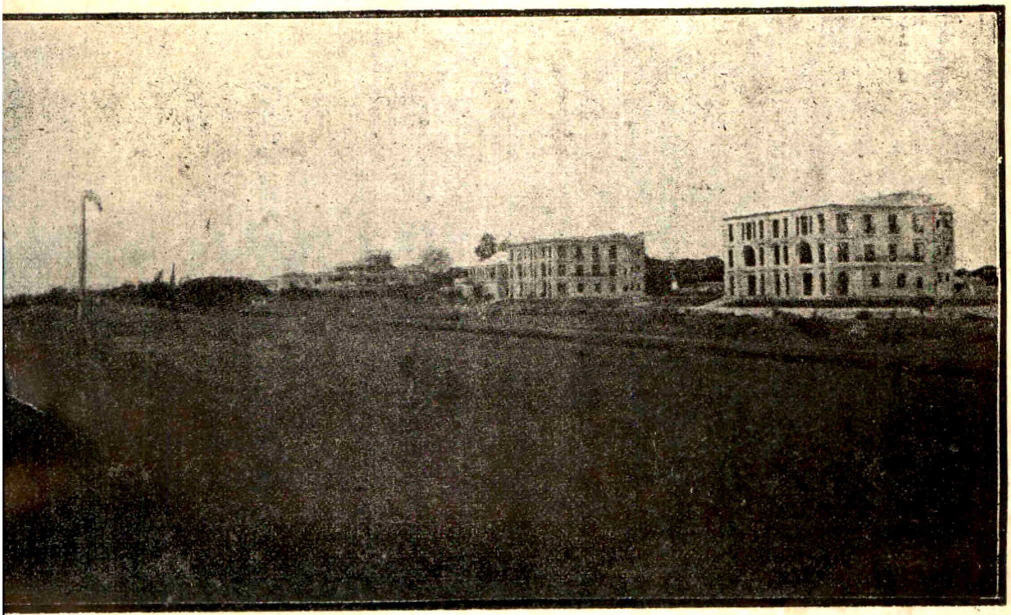
The following utterance will show that our author has not hesitated to express his free and independent views: "The Delhi Capital has brought vividly before the Moslem and Hindu the shades of Akbar and Abul Fazl, Man Singh and Todar Mall—names which have for centuries been household words alike with Moslems and Hindus. Native India goes crazy over such names. "What power can cut it off from the influence of these memories? Can any English name conjure up such feelings of affection in the Indian mind as these four Moslem and Hindu names?" A resuscitation of the old Moghul traditions in the matter of the appointment of Hindu rulers as evidenced by the installation of Lord Sinha as a Provincial Governor and his admission to the British Peerage by the late Mr. Montagu is a policy in the right direction, which, if systematically continued, will doubtless make for the same relations between the subject and the sovereign race as in the good old days.

The sincerity of his criticism, adverse and unpleasant though it sometimes is, is sure to exercise a chastening influence on the direction of the policy of His Majesty's Government in such momentous matters as involve a judicious reconciliation of communal feelings and sentiments, which are those on which the future welfare of the Empire unquestionably depends.

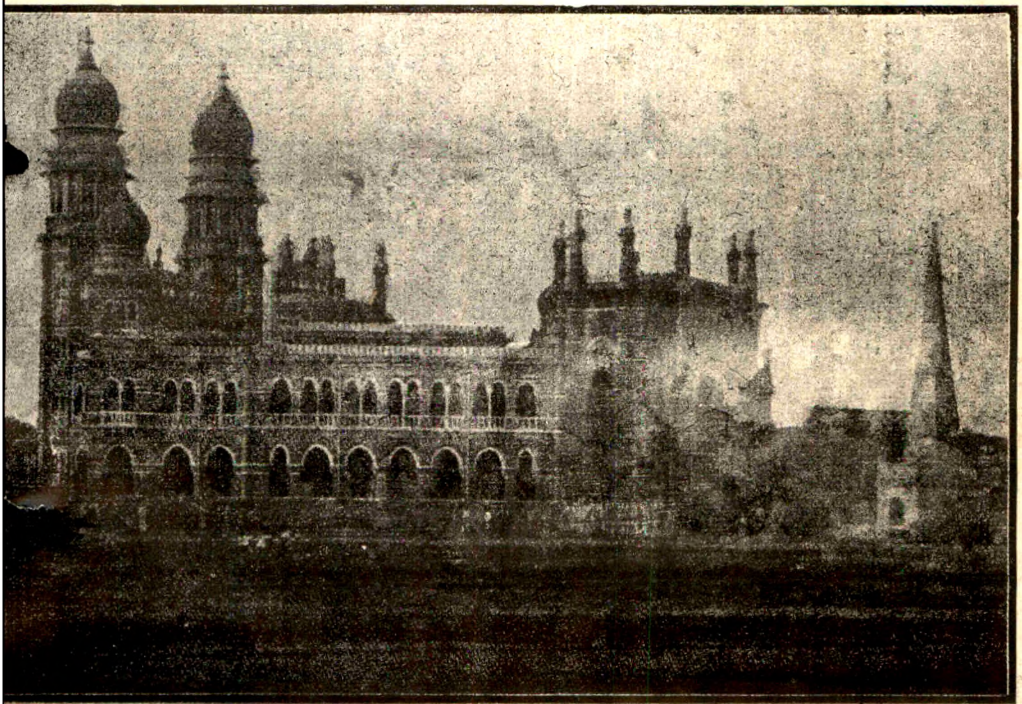
M. L. B.

MADRAS

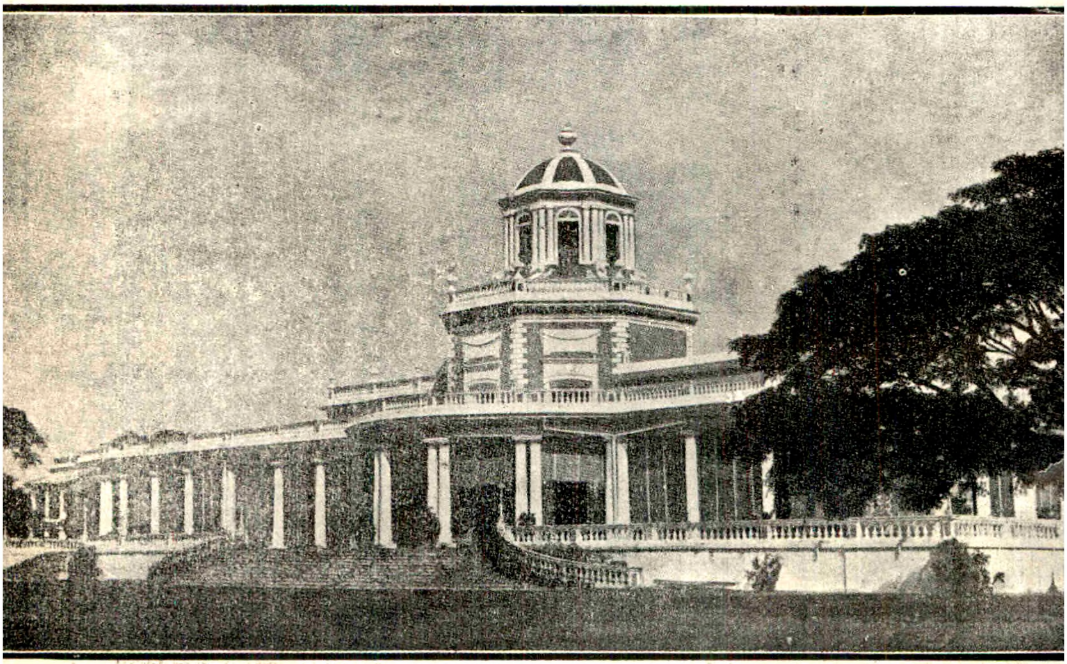
(By courtesy of the Bharatbarsha)



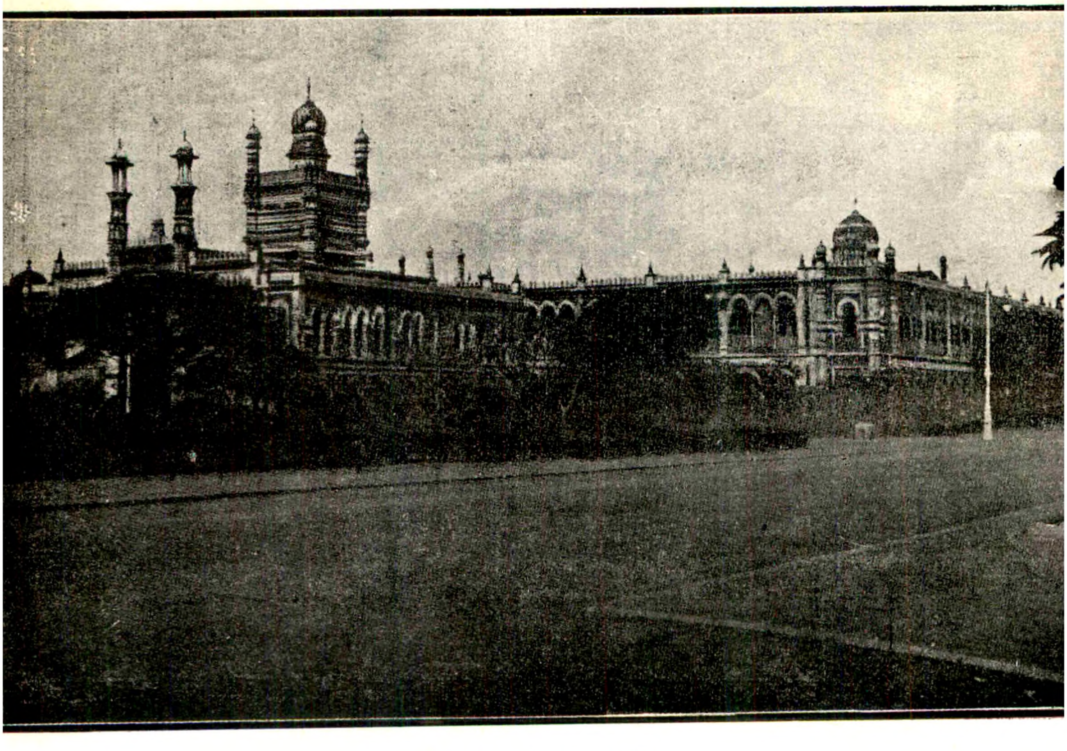
Queen Mary College.



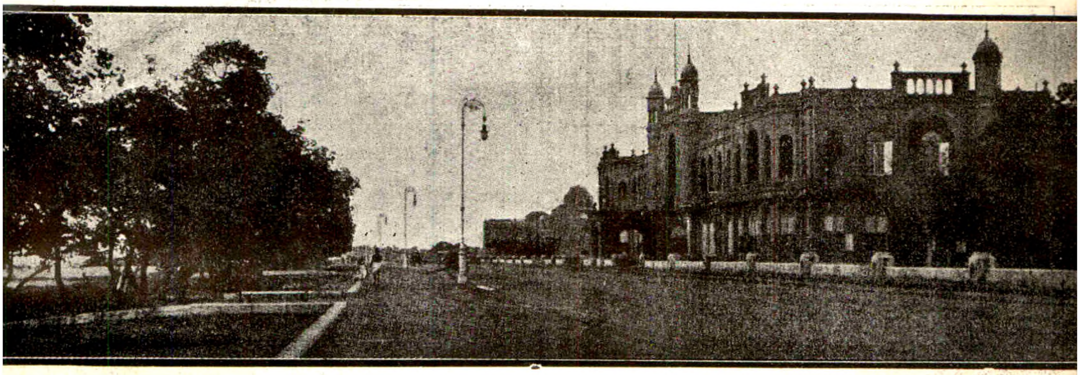
The Law College.



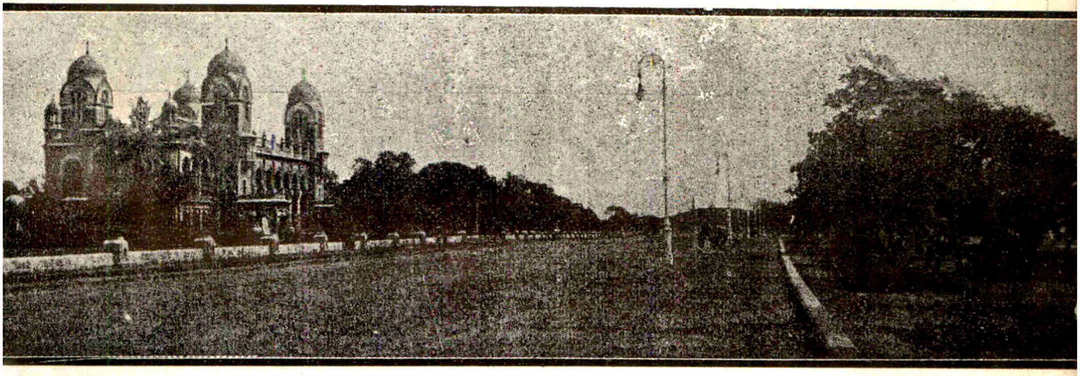
The Adyar Club.



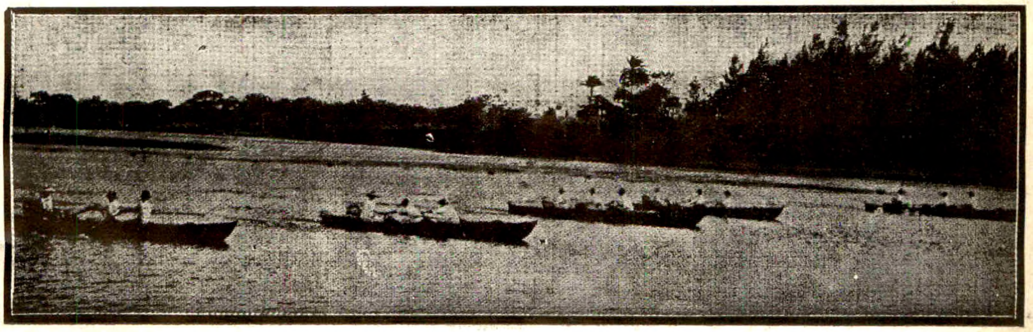
The Revenue Board Office.



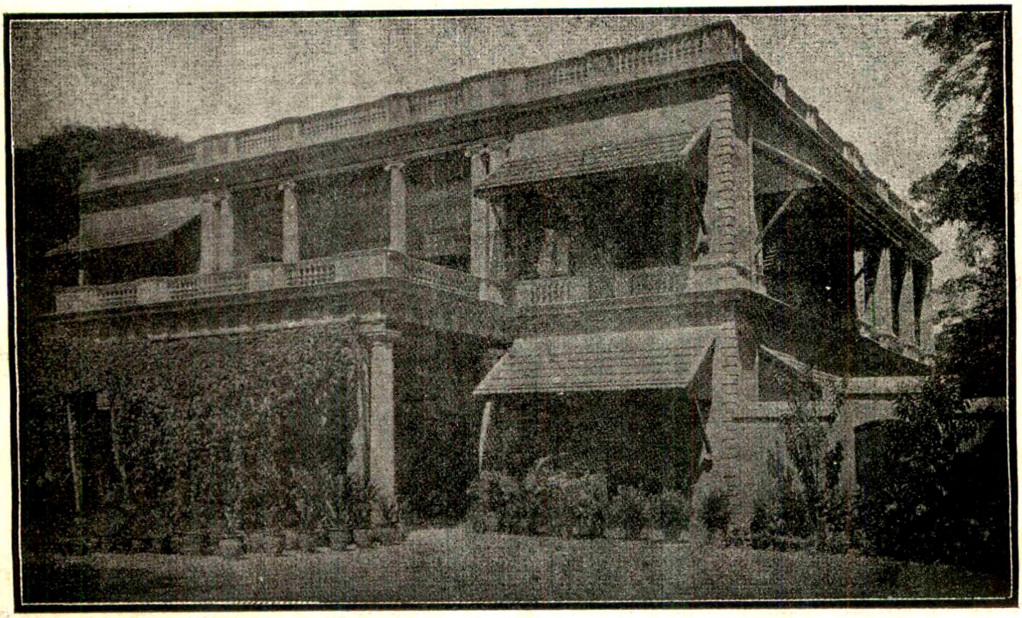
Presidency College.



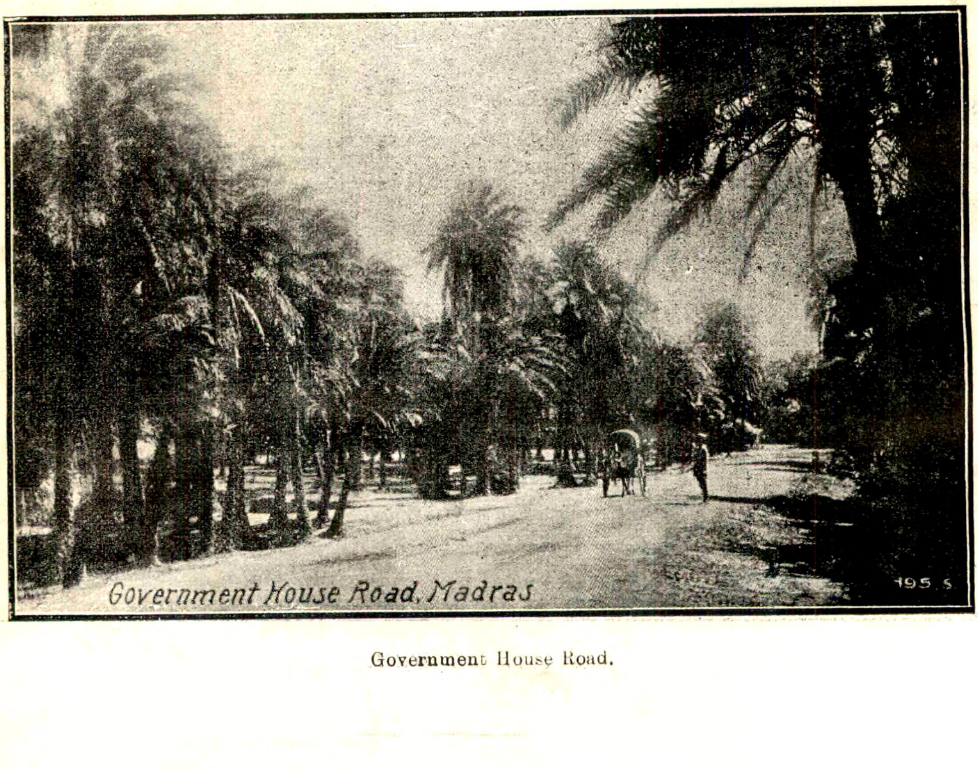
Senate House.



A Rowing Competition.



The Girls School.



Government House Road, Madras
195 S

Government House Road.

KESHUB CHUNDER SEN

Keshub! thou shouldst be living at this hour:
The call has come that marks a nation's rise!
But we are deaf: Hindu at Moslem cries;
In factious strife we lose our faith and power!
Who would sustain us that we should not lower
Our starry aim in this our great emprise?
The pure-souled Gandhi weeps; behold, there lies
Rabindra's trumpet; Chitta's gone! And o'er
The land is gloom. O, for the light that shone
On thee! O, for thy voice to make men see,
For all the warring sects, that God is one,
The saints and prophets all in history
But one great apostolic succession
And earth the temple-court of Harmony!

LALITMOHAN CHATTERJEE

Reviews

"**The Bases of Indian Economy,**" by B. G. Bhatnagar, M.A., F.S.S. Lecturer in Economics, University of Allahabad, price Rs. 2, pages 144.

Following the distinguished precedent set by Prof. C. N. Vakil, Mr. Bhatnagar proposes to discard the time-honoured term "Indian Economics" and popularise the new term "Indian Economy." The subject-matter of the study is the economic activities of our people as conditioned by the physical, social, moral and legal environments. But I am afraid both the terms "Home charges" and "Indian Economics" are too deep-rooted in popular usage to be shaken by any well-meant reform.

The importance of geography, social and religious ideals and aspirations and the legal framework of society cannot be neglected in a rational understanding of the corporate life of any community. Karl Marn and Frederick Le Play have shown us how the social and economic life of early societies have been conditioned to a great extent by "land, climate, food-supply, the prevailing modes of work and industry." But as sociological thinkers point out "vital impulses, mind forces and consciousness of purposes and aims" of national men can modify the above circumstances. Before these latent internal forces can be developed so as to dominate the situation it is imperative to note the exact nature of the material environment and Mr. Bhatnagar has given us an economic interpretation of the physical features of one region of N. India. The third chapter deals with the socio-religious factors and their influence on economic life. The fourth part deals with the influence of land tenures on the life and labour of our people. The author has given us some constructive suggestions in this section as regards the occupancy and the zamindari systems of land tenure.

The author would have done well to have included a chapter on political circumstances conditioning the economic activities of the people. That political freedom facilitates economic organisation is too well-known to need any comment from me. The national Government must help to a large extent the endeavour of the people to perfect the economic organisation. Political power is essential to develop the economic capacity in the right channels. Economic reconstruction of our villages would be impossible without granting self-government to the village punchayet in the limited field of sanitation, police and judicial administration. It is due to the lack of political power that we have not been able to carry out in entirety the specific recommendations of either the Indian Industrial Commission, the Stores Purchase Committee, the Jails Committee, the Deck

Passengers Committee and the Mercantile Marine Committee. Without disputing the truth of the statement that "all applied economics is not politics" I wish to strongly emphasize that it is not sound organisation alone that leads to economic development. Again, the swiftness of the administrative machinery of the country has a tolerable influence on the economic activities of the people. Red tape, routine methods, indifference and indolence oppose progress at every stage more than anything else. Swift decision and prompt execution are the desirable things in a living administration and in spite of the recent decentralisation of political power in our country we have not been blessed with really sympathetic administration. The economic activities of our people are cramped and confined to a narrow field as there is not only a lack of sound organisation but political power also.

We strongly recommend this book to the students of economics as it tends to stimulate their thought and make them consider the influence of several factors on the economic life of the village or the town with which they are familiar.

B. R. R.

"**India's Mineral Wealth**" (India of Today, Vol. IV) by J. Coggin Brown. Oxford University Press, pp. 121, Price Rs. 2.

This little volume gives the reader a short conspectus of the indigenous mineral resources of our country and the sincere well-wishers who wish to secure the economic progress of our country should realise that mineral industrial wealth offers a vast scope for development in the future. The one thing that is noticeable in the case of India is the progressive expansion of her mineral wealth. Sir T. Holland spoke of about 54 minerals while Mr. J. C. Brown describes about 77 in this book. Lines 11 to 23 on p. 8 indicate the future progress that might be realised in this direction. But this realisation, no doubt, depends on correct education in the right prospecting methods. A mineral school in Chota Nagpur which is a wonderfully mineralised country would contribute much towards imparting the characteristics of minerals, their constituents, field tests, and a proper understanding of the earth's crust. The readers would have been much more indebted to the author if he had suggested interesting lines for developing our mineral wealth. Next to agriculture mining would be the greatest industry of India if only the services of economic geology are enlisted in our calculation.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU

Ourselves

PROFESSOR C. V. RAMAN.

It will interest our readers to know that Professor Raman has received an invitation to contribute four chapters on the Theory of Musical Instruments to the great *Handbuch Der Physik* which is now in course of publication by the firm of Julius Springer in Berlin. The *Handbuch* is being brought out under the auspices of an eminent group of physicists in Germany, and is a comprehensive publication in which every section of Mathematical and Experimental Physics is being dealt with by recognised authorities, the leading expert in each subdivision being chosen from the workers in the German-speaking countries in Europe. The one exception in which the co-operation of a physicist from outside the Continental Countries has been sought is our Professor from the Calcutta University. The invitation from the Editor stated that they found very great pleasure in inviting a physicist who had made so many valuable contributions to the subject to co-operate in the great work.

* * * *

THE INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL CONGRESS.

The first session of the Indian Philosophical Congress held in December, is, from all accounts, a great success. Delegates from almost all parts of India and representatives of the different universities attended the Congress. The opening meeting on the 19th of December (1925) was an impressive one. His Excellency the Chancellor in opening the Congress discussed the high aims and ideals of philosophy and insisted on the complementary nature of the ideals of service and sacrifice. He referred to the international character of the gathering and expressed the hope that the Congress would meet annually. In welcoming the delegates, Sir Ewart Greaves, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, recalled his Oxford days, when, by a strange irony of fate, the philosophical thought of India was never brought to the notice of students of philosophy. He hoped that the Congress would bring Indian and Western thought closer and promote mutual understanding. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore delivered his inspiring Presidential address—printed elsewhere—in an intensely musical voice which reached the furthermost corner of the house. The poet seated in Indian style on a raised platform reminded his audience of an Indian *Rishi* of old uttering words of wisdom to a gathering of his disciples.

The Congress had the privilege of listening to two learned and stimulating discourses from Professors Formichi and Tucci of Italy. The Indian Philosophy Section aroused great enthusiasm and discussions in Sanskrit by some Pandits added to the interest. The session closed with a very successful and pleasant 'At Home' to the Delegates given by the Vice-Chancellor on Tuesday (the 22nd December) evening.

At the business meeting on Tuesday afternoon, the following constitution of the Congress was adopted:

1. The Association shall be called the Indian Philosophical Congress.

2. The aim of the Association shall be (*i*) to meet every year for a specified number of days for the discussion of philosophical problems; (*ii*) to devise ways and means for the development of philosophical studies in India; (*iii*) to raise funds and to make proper investment of the same, and to do all other things necessary for the carrying out of the aims (*i*) and (*ii*).

3. The membership of the Congress shall be open to those persons who are interested in the study and teaching of philosophy on their paying a yearly subscription of Rupees Five only at least *two months* before the meeting of the Congress.

3A. For the 1st-year, the undermentioned persons shall be deemed as having enrolled as members:

(*a*) Delegates, (*b*) Contributors of papers, (*c*) Members of the Reception Committee who have already paid their dues.

4. All members of the Congress (*a*) shall be invited to the meetings of the Congress, (*b*) shall have the right to vote for such matters as are hereinafter mentioned, (*c*) shall receive the publications of the Congress at favoured rates, (*d*) shall have the right to submit papers to the Congress.

5. The membership of a person shall cease (*a*) upon his non-payment of subscription for two consecutive years, (*b*) upon his pursuing a course of conduct injurious to the interests of the Association, when a motion to effect the termination of membership is passed by a majority of members present at the meeting of the Congress.

6. The work of the Congress shall be carried on by an Executive Council consisting of twelve members with a Chairman and Secretary to be elected by the Congress. The Chairman may nominate not more than three members to the Executive Council. The members of the Executive Council, the Chairman, and the Secretary shall hold office for three years.

7. The Congress shall initiate new proposals and policies by passing resolutions which the Executive Council shall try to carry out.

8. The Executive Council shall be responsible for carrying out the aims of the Association. It shall elect the President of the Congress and the Sectional Presidents. It shall receive and select papers to be read at the Congress Sessions.

9. The Executive Council shall co-opt, at least six months before the date of the meeting of the Congress, two members representing the seat of the following session of the Congress. These members shall hold office for one year.

10. The Chairman and the Secretary, shall, with the general approval of the Executive Council frame rules and bye-laws for carrying on the work of the Congress.

The Congress elected the following Executive Council:

Chairman.

Professor S. Radhakrishnan, M.A. (Calcutta)

Secretary.

N. N. Sen Gupta, Esq., M.A., Ph.D. (Calcutta).

Members.

Professor Phanibhusan Adhikary, M.A. (Benares).
,, G. C. Chatterji, M.A. (Lahore).
,, Hiralal Haldar, M.A., Ph.D. (Calcutta).
,, A. G. Hogg, M.A., D.Lit. (Madras).
Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Lit., C.I.E., (Allahabad).
Professor G. H. Langley, M.A. (Dacca).
,, John Mackenzie, M.A. (Bombay).
,, J. B. Raju, M.A., B.Sc. (Nagpur).
,, R. D. Ranade, M.A. (Bombay).
Mr. S. S. Surjanarayana Sastri, M.A., B.Sc. (Madura).
Professor Ahmad Shah, M.A., B.Lit. (Lucknow).
,, A. R. Wadia, M.A., Bar-at-Law (Mysore).
Mr. G. R. Malkani, M.A. (Amalner), *nominated.*
Professor Abdul Hakeem, M.A. (Osmania University—*nominated*).

An Editorial Board consisting of—

Professor G. C. Chatterjee, M.A. (Lahore)
,, S. N. Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. (Calcutta)
,, S. K. Maitra, M.A., Ph.D. (Benares)
,, R. D. Ranade, M.A. (Bombay)
,, P. P. S. Sastri, M. A. (Madras)
,, W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.Lit. (Calcutta)

was elected by the Congress to be in charge of the Journal for the Congress. It is hoped that this Editorial Board will be accepted by the trustees of the Amalner Institute of Philosophy who are now running the *Philosophical Quarterly.*

The next session of the Congress will be held in Benares in December, 1926.

* * *

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

AFFILIATED STUDENTS.

Regulations (as amended to 31st October, 1925).

We have been requested to publish the following for the benefit of our students :

1. Graduates of Universities, which have on the recommendation of the Council of the Senate been approved for the purpose by Grace of the Senate, shall be entitled to admission to the privileges of affiliation, provided that they submit certificates showing that they have attended classes in such a University for a period of not less than three years, and that they produce either (*a*) evidence of graduation with First Class Honours, or a record which, in the opinion of the Council of the Senate, is equivalent to First Class Honours[1];

or, (*b*) evidence of graduation with Second Class Honours (or a record which, in the opinion of the Council of the Senate, is equivalent to Second Class Honours[2]), provided that they have passed, in one or more of the Examinations by which they have qualified for their degree, either in English, two other languages, one of which is either Latin or Greek, and Mathematics; or, if a student is a native of Asia or Africa and not of European descent, in English, in one of the following languages, Arabic, Persian-with Arabic, Chinese or Pali, and in Mathematics. A pass in the corresponding Part of the Previous Examination in any of these subjects will be accepted in lieu of the subject in the Examinations by which students have qualified for their degree, provided that the necessary part of the Previous Examination has been passed before the student matriculates.

2. A student admitted to the privileges of Affiliation shall be entitled to any or all of the following privileges :

(*a*) to be exempted from the Previous Examination ;

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[1] In the case of approved Universities in the United States of America, the Council of the Senate will in general accept, as such a record, evidence that a student can be regarded as having graduated in the first sixth of his class (that is all the students of his year), and also that he showed exceptional ability in some subject.

[2] In the case of approved Universities in the United States of America, the Council of the Senate will in general accept, as such a record, evidence that a student can be regarded as having graduated in the first half of his class (that is, all the students of his year).

(*b*) to reckon the first term kept by residence as the second, third, or fourth term of his residence, for the purposes of all provisions respecting the standing of candidates for Tripos Examinations or for Degree Examinations in Medicine, Surgery, or Music, and respecting the standing of candidates for Degrees, other than the Ordinary B.A. Degree or Degrees conferred under the Regulations for Research Students;

(*c*) on producing evidence that he has passed such examinations as may be approved by a Special Board connected with a Tripos, to be allowed to proceed to a part or Section of that Tripos under the same conditions as though he had passed another Part or Section of a Tripos; and; if he shall obtain honours therein, to be admitted Bachelor designate in Arts on the completion of residence for the requisite number of terms; provided that—

(*i*) if the examination or examinations as to which evidence is produced are in a subject or subjects other than that which the Tripos is concerned, the consent of the General Board of Studies shall be obtained in each case;

(*ii*) if a student is allowed under this regulation to proceed to a Part or Section of a Tripos in respect of which the regulations make different provisions according to the Part or Section of a Tripos which a student has already passed, the Special Board shall determine which of such provisions shall apply;

(*iii*) application for admission to this privilege is made to the Registrary before the end of the student's first term of residence:

(*iv*) if this examination is taken before the last of the terms which the candidate is required to keep in order to qualify for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, the candidate shall produce a certificate of "diligent study" for the residue of such terms.

3. (*a*) If a student admitted to the privileges of affiliation wishes to reckon for any purpose the first term kept by residence as the second, third, or fourth term of his residence, in accordance with the foregoing Regulation 2 (*b*), application should be made to the Registrary for the registration of such allowance.

(*b*) If a student admitted to the privileges of affiliation has, in accordance with the foregoing Regulation 2 (*b*), reckoned for any purpose the first term kept by residence as the second, third, or fourth term of his residence, as the case may be, he shall be required so to reckon his first term for all purposes.

4. In the case of any student claiming to be admitted to the

privileges of Affiliation, a certificate of having fulfilled the prescribed conditions, signed by the Registrar or other competent authority of the student's University, shall be presented for registration to the Registrary in the student's first term of residence, and a fee of £2 shall be paid at the same time to the Registrary for the University Chest.

5. Any certificate of having fulfilled the prescribed conditions may be accepted for registration at a time later than that above specified, provided that in every such case an additional fee of £ 1 shall be paid to the Registrary for the University Chest.

6. Students claiming to be admitted to the privileges of Affiliation shall be required (*a*) to have fulfilled all the prescribed conditions before matriculation, (*b*) to matriculate and to pay the usual fee of £ 5, and (*c*) to pay the capitation tax in respect of each term allowed under Regulation 2 (*b*).

* * * *

Conditions of Exemption from Responsions at Oxford and Previous at Cambridge by means of Examinations which can be taken in India.

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

Indian University Degrees.—Exemption from Responsions is given to any person who has obtained the degree of Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science *at an Indian University approved by the Hebdomadal Council*,[1] provided that his course at his Indian University included the study of English, and one of the languages Latin, Greek, French, German, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Pali, Classical Chinese.

Cambridge School Certificate Examination.—Exemption from Responsions is also given to the holders of the School Certificate of the Cambridge Syndicate for Local Examinations, provided that the holder has gained the certificate in or after 1917, and has either in the same or separate examinations passed with credit in two of the languages Latin, Greek, French, German, Italian, Spanish, of which Latin or Greek must be one, and in two other subjects included in Groups I, II and III.[2]

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[1] No list of Universities approved by the Hebdomadal Council is published.

[2] Group I, English Subjects; Group II, Languages (Latin, Greek, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Arabic, Chinese, Persian, or Sanskrit in Ceylon, or Pali, or Sinhalese, or Tamil); Group III, Mathematics, Natural Science.

N.B.—Exemption from Responsions is also one of the privileges of students entitled to the *status of Senior or Junior Students.*

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

Indian University Examination.—A candidate who has obtained a First Class in the Intermediate Examination in Arts or Science, or a First or Second Class in the Examination for the degree of Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science *in any Indian University approved for the purpose by the Council of the Senate,*[1] is granted exemption from the whole of the Previous Examination, provided that, in some examination leading up to the degree of Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science in that University, he has passed in Arabic, Persian, Persian with Arabic, Sanskrit or Pali; in Mathematics or Science; and in English.[2]

Cambridge School Certificate Examination.—Exemption from the Previous Examination is also possible to students who have obtained the Certificate of the School Certificate Examinations, held by the Cambridge Syndicate for Local Examinations, on the following conditions:—

(1) Exemption from the whole of the Previous Examination is granted to those who pass with credit in five of the subjects of the Examination, one of the five being Latin or Greek, or in four of the subjects of the Examination, including one at least from each of the Groups I, II and III,† one of the four being Latin or Greek. Candidates from India, not of European descent, may substitute Arabic, or Persian, or Sanskrit, or Sinhalese, or Tamil, for Latin or Greek, but students who avail themselves of this concession are not allowed to offer themselves as candidates for the Oriental Languages Tripos.

(2) Exemption from the whole Previous Examination, with the exception of the papers in Latin, is granted to candidates who satisfy the above conditions, but who have not included Latin or Greek as one of the subjects.

(3) Exemption can be obtained—

(*a*) from Part I, in respect of a Pass with credit in Latin and either Greek, French, German or Spanish, at one and the same examination; or by candidates from India, not of European descent, in respect of a Pass with credit in (*i*) English Language and English Literature, and in (*ii*) Latin, or Arabic, or Persian, or Sanskrit, or Sinhalese, or Tamil;

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[1] The Universities approved by the Council of the Senate are Calcutta, Madras, Punjab, Allahabad, Dacca and Bombay.

[2] It should be noted that only *complete* exemption from the Previous can be obtained under this Regulation.

(*b*) from Part II, in respect of a Pass with credit in one of the subjects 12 to 16, *i.e.*, Mathematics, Chemistry, Physics, and Experimental Science;

(*c*) from Part III, in respect of a Pass with credit in either Religious Knowledge or History, in one and the same examination.

N.B.—Exemption from the Previous is also one of the privileges of students entitled to the *status of Affiliation.*

* * *

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, RESEARCH STUDENTSHIPS.

"An election to a Research Studentship will be made at the end of July, 1926, and in every subsequent year.

All men are eligible to the Studentship who have graduated, or before 1st October, 1926, will have graduated, at any University other than Cambridge, or who can show evidence of exceptional qualification for research; provided that at the date of the election they have not commenced residence in the University of Cambridge.

Every candidate must declare that he intends, if elected, to proceed to the degree of Ph.D. in the University of Cambridge; and either before or after his election the elected Student must obtain from the Board of Research Studies of the University permission to enter the University as a Research Student. Tenure of the Studenship is conditional upon such permission being obtained, and upon diligence in the approved course of research.

The Studentship will be tenable until the Student is of standing to proceed to the degree of Ph.D., and it will be of such value not exceeding £ 200 a year as the Electors may decide after considering the Student's pecuniary circumstances. Payment will be made quarterly, and will be conditional on residence in the University in accordance with the University's rules of residence, except that, if the Student has resided during the three previous quarters, he will receive payment for the Long Vacation quarter (ending at Michaelmas) whether he resides during it or not, even if he has already proceeded to the degree of Ph.D.

The elected candidate will be required to come into residence in the Michaelmas term, 1926, (not later than October 12), unless he shall have obtained from the college authorities leave to commence residence at some other time.

Applications must reach the Senior Tutor, Trinity College, Cambridge, England, as early as possible in July, and not later than July, 1925. They must include a certificate of birth, a certificate of good character, a record of the candidate's education, his diploma or other certificate of graduation, a statement of the research or kind of research that he is prepared to undertake, and any evidence of his aptitude for research that he wishes to submit; together with a full account of his pecuniary circumstances, which should state the amount of any assistance expected from his present University. Strict attention should be paid to these requirements, for a defective application may be ignored. If, however, the candidate's credentials and testimonials have already been sumitted to the Registrary of the University, that should be said, and duplicates of them need not be sent. If they are sent in the first instance to the Senior Tutor, he will, on request, transmit them to the Registrary in due course.

In all that concerns admission to the University (as distinct from the College) the candidate should communicate with the Registrary at the University Registry. Full information on the matter is to be found in The Student's Handbook to the University and College of Cambridge, an annual publication of the University Press. This book contains a chapter on expenses. Among the charges incurred by a Research Student who is a member of Trinity College are the following items due to the College:—

(1) A College Admission Fee of £ 5;

(2) Tuition Fees amounting to £ 6 for each academic year;

(3) Quarterly Dues amounting to not less than £ 27 and not more than £ 31-10*s*. 0*d*. for each academic year;

(4) a fee of £ 5 due at the time of taking the degree of Ph.D.

Before admission to the College the Student must advance to the College the Tuition Fee for his first term (£2), Quarterly Dues for his first quarter (£9), and a deposit of £ 12, called Caution Money, which is repaid when he takes his degree or removes his name from the College Boards.

It is to be noted that no one can be admitted to the University as a Research Student before he has reached the age of 21."

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MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS, NOVEMBER, 1925.

Preliminary Scientific M.B.:

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 62, of whom 32 passed, 25 failed and 5 were absent.

* * *

First M.B.:

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 209, of whom 87 passed, 115 failed and 7 were absent.

* * *

Final M.B.:

The number of candidates registered for Parts I and II of the Examination was 16, of whom none passed. Of those who failed, none passed in Part I whilst 7 passed in Part II.

The number of candidates registered for Part I (New) of the Examination was 189, of whom 62 passed, 121 failed and 6 were absent.

The number of candidates registered for Part I (Old) of the Examination was 5, of whom 4 passed and one failed.

The number of candidates registered for Part II (New) of the Examination was 93, of whom 74 passed, 18 failed and one was absent.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

FEBRUARY, 1926

A SOUND CURRENCY SYSTEM FOR INDIA

The abnormal conditions created in India by the war and its aftermath have now practically disappeared. The agricultural situation is quite fair. The depression in industrial activity which began a few years ago still continues, but signs of a revival in the near future are not wanting. Trade has already made considerable progress towards recovery. The financial position of the Government is satisfactory, and the era of deficits has now come to an end. World conditions are also gradually approaching the normal. Most of the countries with whom India maintains trade relations have now stabilised their currencies on a basis of gold, and Great Britain has recently returned to the gold standard. Indian merchants and statesmen have for some time past been demanding active measures for a solution of the problems of Indian currency and exchange. The time, therefore, seems to be ripe for making an earnest effort to secure monetary stability in India.

The question of the comparative importance of stability in internal prices and in foreign exchanges need not worry us overmuch. The internal trade of India is many times as large as her external trade. Therefore, looked at from the standpoint of volume of transactions, stability in internal prices seems to be more important than stability in foreign exchanges. But, absolutely considered, the foreign trade of India is large enough to merit serious attention. If there is one thing more than another which disturbs the course of commercial and industrial activity, it is uncertainty of exchange. It should be remembered in this connection that there is not only no conflict between stability in internal prices and stability in foreign exchanges, but that the two are, to a considerable extent, closely inter-related.

The effects of a rising or a falling rupee ought to be well understood. A rising rupee tends to discourage exports and encourage imports. When exchange rises, the exporter gets fewer rupees in return for his goods. Exports from India consist mainly of raw materials. Such articles as are in the nature of monopolies are not adversely affected to an appreciable extent, if the rise in exchange is small. But when the rise is considerable, the export trade even in monopolies tends to be checked. It should be borne in mind in this connection that there are very few articles which may be regarded as absolute monopolies. When prices rise very high, substitutes for monopolies are often found and there is thus the risk of a complete ruin of the trade in these articles. In the case of commodities of which India is only one of many producers, the price in the world's markets does not, as has been pointed out by Prof. Jevons, "respond to the rise of the Indian exchange, and the supply of these commodities from India may cease altogether, or can only be continued at a lower cost of production,—in other words, wages and profits must fall, or cheaper means of producing the commodity must be found, as by introducing improved methods or machinery."

A rising exchange by reducing the rupee prices of imported commodities places the locally produced goods at a disadvantage. The home industries find the competition of the foreign industries more keen than before. The stronger and well-established industries are able to stand the severer test, but the weaker and nascent industries may perhaps find the strain too heavy and may even succumb to it. When this happens, the industrial development of the country is necessarily retarded. The effect of higher exhange is thus injurious to industry as well as agriculture in India.

The different classes of society are differently affected by a rising exchange. Consumers gain, while producers incur a loss. Creditors reap an advantage, but debtors suffer. The effect on national finance is beneficial, for the Government are able to meet their foreign obligations with fewer rupees. But what is gain to the exchequer is loss to the tax-payer. The tax-payer pays the Government the same number of rupees as before, but the rupee is now worth more than it was.

The effects of a falling rupee are the reverse of those of a rising rupee. Exports are stimulated, while imports are checked. In both cases, however, the effects are temporary. They cease as soon as wages, profits, etc., readjust themselves to the new conditions. But readjustments always require time to be completed, and the process is not always smooth. Nor is the period of transition necessarily short.

Let us now consider the permanent effects of higher exchange. The rupee becomes an appreciated coin, and the general price level is lower. Wages and profits are in the same relative position as they were before the transition commenced. There may, however, be some classes of persons who are unable to adjust their position to the new conditions, and they are adversely affected by the change. The effect of higher exchange on the country as a whole is adverse, so far as its foreign trade is concerned. India's exports exceed her imports in value by a large annual sum, say, from 60 to 80 crores. Higher exchange thus means considerable loss on account of this trade balance. As against this loss, the Government of India are able to effect a saving in Home

Charges, for they are required to remit a smaller number of rupees. But, as we have already seen, the amount thus saved really comes from the pockets of the people.

The question which presents itself at the present moment is not so much the stabilisation of the rupee as the adoption of a sound currency system. The gold exchange standard has failed to satisfy the tests of a sound system. It has always shown a tendency to break down as soon as there has been a crisis. Besides, it has been attended with many evils in the past. The utilisation of the reserves for purposes other than those originally intended, the fixing of the exchange-rate at a figure which was found impossible to maintain, the method adopted in purchasing silver, and the enormous losses consequent on the sale of reverse councils are instances in point. Management is not a bad thing in itself, but it can prove a success only when the persons entrusted with the work are possessed of perfect wisdom and the highest degree of honesty. But, as is pointed out by an eminent economist, experience has shown that the control of currency is liable to the gravest abuses. In India, which is still a subject country, the possibility of the occurrence of abuses is much greater than in other countries. Management should, therefore, cease, if for no other reason, in order to remove the suspicion from the public mind that Indian currency is often manipulated in the interests of England. Besides, India has now developed a large foreign trade of her own, and it is very undesirable that her currency should continue to be linked with that of another country. It is "risky," to use the words of Sir Basil Blackett, "to tie the rupee to the chariot-wheels" of the Bank of England. Nor can sentiment be altogether ignored in matters of this sort. The gold exchange standard is regarded as the brand of subjection and inferiority, and, naturally, Indians feel that the system should be ended.

Now, what is the alternative to this standard? It is impossible to go back to the silver standard. The standards based on index-numbers which have been advocated by several economists present difficulties which appear insurmountable at the present moment. An exchange standard for the whole civilised world based on gold kept at a number of centres will be possible when the League of Nations is able to command the confidence of all nations, great and small, and the habit of international action becomes fully established. For the present, however, the adoption by India of the gold standard seems to be the only solution of her currency problems. This is the system which makes the largest measure of automatic regulation possible. Besides, gold has now once more established itself as the international standard of value. India's trade relations are mainly with gold-using countries, and these can only be satisfactorily maintained by the adoption of gold as the medium of exchange. From the standpoint of stability of commodity prices, the gold standard is not an "invariable standard." But, as Dr. Gregory points out, the value of gold is not likely to fluctuate widely within short periods of time, and the gold standard necessarily involves stability in prices over the whole of the area in which the standard prevails. The gold standard is thus able to eliminate social and international difficulties much more successfully than any other standard. An incidental advantage of the adoption of the Gold Standard will probably be that a greater familiarity with gold coins will bring into use such quantities of gold as are now kept as a store of value in the shape of ornaments or lumps of the yellow metal. The change is also likely to produce a desirable political effect. I, therefore, entirely agree with the view of an eminent person fully conversant with Indian conditions who says, "The people of India will be safer with a currency based on gold, although the commodity value of gold is liable to fluctuate, than with one dependent on the varying opinions of any body of men." It seems to me that the adoption of the gold standard is an economic, social and political necessity.

The main objection to the adoption of the Gold Standard is that the use of gold as currency is uneconomical, especially in a poor country like India. This view is quite correct. But the adoption of the Gold Standard does not imply that gold coins must necessarily circulate very largely. I am strongly of the opinion that no attempt should be made to force gold coins into circulation. In fact, with a gold currency gold is likely to be used only to a very limited extent. If the gold 'mohur' is adopted as the principal coin the actual medium of exchange will consist mainly of rupees and notes. It is also hoped that the extension of banking facilities and the spread of education will lead to a greater use of cheques and reduce the importance of coins for purposes of circulation.

Another objection is that very little gold is mined in this country. But India has a favourable balance of trade, and in the usual course she will get enough gold for her currency purposes in exchange for commodities. It is apprehended in some quarters that the absorption of gold by India will result in shortage of the metal in other countries. This cannot be regarded as a valid argument for depriving India of her legitimate share of the world's stock of gold. But, in reality, such absorption, if it takes place will prove beneficial to the rest of the world as it will help to lower the international price-level. Lastly, the fear that the adoption of the Gold Standard will intensify the hoarding habit seems to me to be wholly unfounded.

The question now is,—What should be the relation between the gold coin and the rupee? Of course, when the rupee ceases to be the principal coin of the country, the question of ratio will become far less important than it is under the present system. Still, a ratio will have to be fixed. It is perfectly correct to say that there is "no ideal ratio." It may also be accepted without hesitation that the ratio should be such as is "easily attainable and easily maintainable." The 2*s*. ratio announced in 1920 is neither attainable nor maintainable, and as it is no longer in the thoughts of the Government it may be brushed aside. Shall we, then, adopt the ratio which prevails at the present moment? This brings us to the question whether the existing ratio is a natural or an artificial one. The view seems to prevail in certain quarters that the present rate has been deliberately worked up to by the Government. In the absence of fuller information than I possess just at present, I am unable to say whether this view is correct or not. But I am convinced that the conditions which are responsible for the existing rate are not of a permanent character, and I fully endorse the view of Sir James Wilson who says, "The recent rise in its gold value to 8·4 grains may prove to be only temporary, as being due not only to the general fall in the commodity value of gold which has taken place over the world as a whole, but to exceptionally good harvests in India, which led to an increase in the demand for rupee currency. If the world's demand for gold increases, or the world's production of commodities overtakes the world's demand, then the general gold price of commodities will fall, the commodity value of gold will rise, and the gold value of the rupee will tend to fall. If India suffers from poor harvests and her exports decrease in comparison with her imports, there will be less demand for rupees, and the people who hold large hoards of rupees may feel compelled to put them into circulation and thus increase the available supply of rupees, which would tend to reduce the gold value of the rupee." Another fact should also be taken into consideration. The adoption of the Gold Standard by India is likely to result in a greater demand for gold, and, consequently, its value will rise. This will automatically bring down the rate.

If this view be correct, the Government will find considerable difficulty in maintaining the 1*s.* 6*d.* rate. It seems desirable, therefore, to revert to the old ratio, namely, 1*s.* 4*d.* to the rupee. It should not be forgotten that for over two years the prevailing rate was below this figure, and any attempt to maintain a higher rate is likely to be attended with much risk. The 1*s*. 4*d*. rate was fairly stable for nearly twenty years. The relative price levels in India and other principal countries of the world are very nearly the same to-day as they were before the war. All these facts point to the conclusion that the 1*s*. 4*d*. rate seems to approximate closely to the natural ratio.

If this rate be adopted, measures may become necessary to check any downward tendency of the rate that may show itself. This can be secured by a cessation or restriction of the rupee coinage and a reduction in the volume of notes in circulation. In case these measures fail to maintain the ratio the Gold Standard Reserve will have to be drawn upon to make good any loss that may be incurred on this account.

The adoption of a Gold Standard will mean that a gold coin will be the only legal tender in India. The advocates of gold currency usually suggest that this coin should be the British sovereign as at present. But it would be better to give it an Indian name and call it a 'mohur.' In order to maintain the convertibility of the two coins at par the 'mohur' should be of the same fineness and weight as the sovereign. The legal tender quality of the rupee will have to be limited. For the present, a high limit, such as Rs. 1,500 or 100 mohurs, may be fixed, but gradually this limit should be reduced to, say, 150 rupees or 10 mohurs. Arrangements will have to be made for the free—but not necessarily gratuitous—coinage of gold. Although it is not necessary immediately to convert all silver coins into gold, yet it will be desirable to declare the convertibility of rupees into mohurs. This will secure the confidence of the public in the new currency system and prevent any great disturbance of the ratio of exchange. I do not apprehend that a very large number of rupees will be presented for conversion as soon as the adoption of a gold standard is announced. Even if a considerable quantity of the silver coin seeks conversion the existing resources of the Government will not be found inadequate to meet the demand. A portion of the Gold Standard Reserve will have, of course, to be applied to this purpose.

If the proposed change takes place, the Gold Standard Reserve will in future be employed in maintaining the ratio between the mohur and the rupee. As the coining of new rupees will have to be stopped, there will be no addition to the present size of the Reserve. As regards the composition of the Reserve, it should be held mainly in gold, but a small portion of it may be invested in the Treasury Bills of the Government of India or other short-term securities. The investment of the Reserve in British or Colonial securities cannot be justified on any grounds, economic or political, and the practice must cease as soon as possible. With the disappearance of the Gold Exchange Standard, the need for holding the Reserve in England will disappear. The future use of the Reserve will be within the borders of the country. The bulk of it, if not the whole, should, therefore, be held in India.

For the present, the Government of India should continue to control the note-issue. I am in favour of the establishment of a State Bank in India. The Imperial Bank of India holds an anomalous position. The Indian public is not sure that it is able to promote and safeguard the economic and financial interests of the people of the country. Any substantial enlargement of its powers so long as its present constitution continues is not, therefore, desirable. If, however, it is converted into a State Bank, or its constitution is radically altered, I would transfer the control of the note-issue to it.

As regards the backing of the note-issue, the percentage of metallic reserve to circulation is at present about 58. This should be gradually raised until it reaches 75 per cent., that is to say, a ratio in the neighbourhood of the pre-war average. If this is done, the issue of notes will be absolutely safe and stand above all suspicion and distrust. The Paper Currency Reserve should be held in its entirety in India where it is required. The investment of a substantial portion of it in England is a great injustice to India.

Greater facilities should be given for the encashment of notes, and notes should be made available not only in every town but also in the more important villages. These should be made redeemable either in gold or in silver at the option of the Government. If the rupee-notes are found very expensive, they will have to be discontinued. The 2½-rupee notes never became very popular, but in the absence of rupee-notes, they may come into greater use. The five-rupee and ten-rupee notes should certainly be continued, but rupee-notes of the higher denominations should cease to be printed. Mohur-notes should be issued according to the needs of the public, and they are sure to be found useful for large payments.

A gold mint should be established in India. It may be either an independent mint or a branch of the Royal Mint. This mint should be open to the free coinage of gold mohurs and half-mohurs. A small charge may be levied to cover the actual cost of minting. There should be attached to the mint a Government refinery for refining gold. It would be necessary for the Government to undertake the obligation to give gold for rupees, in order to maintain the convertibility of the rupee.

The remittance operations of the Government should be conducted by means of public tender. For the present the operations may be in the hands of the Government direct, but they will be best effected through the State Bank when it is established. There is not much harm in entrusting the Imperial Bank with the duty; but I am decidedly of opinion that the Imperial Bank is no substitute for a State Bank proper.

The seasonal demands for currency will be met to a larger extent in future by the free minting system under the

Gold Standard. But the existing method of creating emergency currency will have also to be continued. In introducing further elasticity into the system, the main principle to be observed will be to avoid the two extremes of undue stringency and inflation. This will require the exercise by the authorities vested with discretionary power of the virtue of sympathy on the one hand and of caution on the other.

The adoption of the gold standard will render unnecessary the purchase of silver for at least some time to come. If and when the need rises, the purchase of silver should be by open tender and not by private arrangement through any broker.

PRAMATHANATH BANERJEA

ON CAPITAL PUNISHMENT IN ITS RELATION TO THE THEORY OF THE STATE[1]

It is proposed in the present paper to consider the justice or otherwise of capital punishment as a penalty for certain forms of crime entailing danger to society or otherwise impairing its life and impeding its progress. The question will be considered in its relation to the idea of the state as the dispenser of the penalty and the problem which will be discussed is: whether the right which the state generally exercises at present to impose the extreme penalty under certain circumstances is implied in its sovereignty and belongs to the idea of a state as such. It is not intended to go here into the vexed question of the psychological responsibility of the criminal which will be taken as granted for the purposes of the discussion. The question therefore to be considered is: granting that a crime is a freely-willed act entailing personal responsibility of the criminal, is society as represented in its organisation called the State justified in any circumstances in inflicting the extreme penalty? As capital punishment has to be considered in its relation to the concept of punishment in general, the question has to be discussed in its bearing on the ethical theories of punishment, but since the State in this case is the only accredited authority in which vests the power to inflict this particular form of punishment, these theories have all to be considered in their relation to the idea of a State as the source of penal authority. The questions which we shall consider therefore are: does the sovereignty of the State imply such authority on the lives of its citizens that it is justified to impose even the extreme penalty under certain circumstances? and further, does the idea of crime and its punishment require that the criminal should be made under certain circumstances, to forfeit even his life as a just retribution for the act or acts for which he might be held responsible? As the argument of exceptional and desperate cases is likely to figure rather prominently in controversies of this kind, we propose to consider our question in relation to these exceptional and extreme cases.

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[1] Read before the Indian Philosophical Congress, 1925.

Let us therefore consider an extreme case—a case of premeditated, cold-blooded murder for mere gain without any extenuating circumstances mitigating the heinousness or dire cruelty of the act. Here, we shall be told, is a clear case for the extreme penalty. For is it not a case of conscious and deliberate destruction of life by one who knew he could never himself give it back? Where then is the inequity in making him pay for life by life? If he believes he is justified in taking away a life he can never restore, society is equally justified in claiming his life as a compensation. This is the argument of the *lex talionis* and leads to what is called the retributive theory. The plausibility of the argument is however more apparent than real and it seems an irony of fate that it should be canonised by Christian peoples above all whose scripture would condemn it in no uncertain terms. For certainly one evil does not justify another and the transgression of legitimate rights by an individual does not legitimize a retaliatory transgression by society against the individual. Nor can the individual culprit's life be considered an equivalent of the life of his victim by any logical feat so that society may be said to be justified in claiming the culprit's life as a reparation of the loss.

The view of punishment as a retaliation has gained added prestige since Hegel gave it the stamp of authority as the necessary and inevitable outcome of an original, irrational will. Hegel's view of punishment may be gathered from the following extracts. "Since violence or force in its very conception destroys itself, its principle is that it must be cancelled by force," says Hegel in the "Philosophy of Right." "Hence it is not only right but necessary that a second exercise of force should annul and supersede the first." "The criminal act is a negation, and punishment is the negation of a negation." "Injury exists only as the particular will of the criminal, and to injure this will in its concrete existence is to supersede the crime and to restore right." "The conception of punishment implies of necessity the judgment that crime, as the product of a negative will, carries with it its own negation or punishment." "Punishment expresses the criminal's own inherent will, is a visible proof of his freedom, and is his right." "Punishment is only the manifestation of crime, the second half, which is necessarily presupposed in the first." "Retribution is the turning back of crime against itself. The criminal's own deed judges itself." "A criminal is honoured as rational in the infliction of punishment. The conception and measure of his punishment is deduced from his very act."

Punishment, then, according to Hegel, is a restoration, through retribution, of that abstract right which has been violated by the criminal by an irrational and arbitrary exercise of freedom. The gravity, the enormity of the crime determines in each case the kind and manner of the punishment, and in this respect the punishment may be preventive, deterrent or of some other shape according to the special circumstances of each individual case, but punishment in its conception is essentially of the nature of retribution, of negation of a negative or irrational act through which the culprit is restored to his lost status in the organised community of free rational beings enjoying rights and respecting one another's rights. Hence it is crime retaliating itself on itself, the logical development of the irrational criminal will whereby it destroys itself. It is assumed by Hegel that a violent disturbance of the rational order can be counteracted only by an opposite violence, that violence alone can cancel violence and that reason realises itself through annulment of unreason by unreason. Secondly, it is assumed that the order which actually obtains is the most rational order possible under the circumstances and that crime consists in the disturbance of the order that prevails at the time. Lastly, it is assumed that crime in its real nature does not lie between the criminal and his victim but between the individual injurer and his abstract right as a member of the rational order— the right which he has wantonly violated and which can be restored only by the self-annulment of crime through punishment. None of these assumptions, we contend, will bear strict examination. That unreason must annul itself through an opposite unreason seems to us to be a gratuitous assumption that is neither required by facts nor necessitated by strict logic. On the contrary, if experience testifies to anything it is to an inherent power of self-generation in all forms of violence and wrong, whether public or private, to which the proper counteractive has yet to be discovered. Secondly, if the relation between the individual and his social order be that intimate and organic relation that Hegel claims it to be, it is difficult to see how the State can be divested of responsibility for the crimes committed by its citizens. An organic whole is not truly organic if its members are not completely organised or socialised, and the bare presence of centrifugal forces is a sufficient condemnation not merely of the particular disruptive tendencies but also of the whole or system that makes for internal dissolution and disintegration. All is certainly not right with the State where crimes are rampant and passions run high, and there is perhaps much greater need of the reform of a system that will not hold together than the mere restraint of the individual forces that are only symptoms on the surface.

Before therefore we grant the prerogative of the State to impose even the extreme penalty we had better ask ourselves whether we shall be justified in conceding a right to the State which we are not prepared to recognise in respect of any other association such as the family, the community or the church. It is no answer to our question to say that the right to impose the extreme penalty can belong only to the State as the supreme association to which all other associations are subordinate. The State is neither a superassociation in the strict sense nor the only coercive authority as it is claimed to be. As a matter of fact coercive authority belongs not merely to the State but also to all sorts of subordinate and co-ordinate associations inside and outside the State. For example, a religious community or a church is free to coerce its members when it chooses, *i. e.*, to punish recalcitrant members by excommunication and other methods. We do not consider the exercise of such right by the communities concerned an unjust usurpation of the functions of the State. For example, till recently there was a religious bar on Hindus sailing across the seas and going to Europe or America for study business or any other object, and even to-day there are some sections of the Hindu community in Bengal who would excommunicate all who would venture overseas. Similarly, as regards widow-marriage or inter-caste marriage we all know that they have still to pass current among the higher-caste Hindus of Bengal. All these therefore we leave to the communities concerned and we do not hesitate to concede to the particular communities the option to accept or reject any reform they might consider desirable in the interests of their respective communities and the authority to enforce their decisions by such methods of coercion as are at their disposal. Nor is it relevant to say that these, as instances of psychological coercion appealing through the will of the agents are not on a par with physical coercion the right to which vests in the State alone. As a matter of fact, the right to physical coercion is no monopoly of the State any more than it is a special privilege of any particular association within or without it. For example, we do not question the parent's right to physically coerce the child, whether negatively by detention or positively by physical chastisement, nor do we object generally to the exercise of a like authority by the teacher in respect of the pupils in his charge. It is therefore no real answer to our question to say that the right to exact the extreme penalty is not granted to any other association because the State alone is entitled to exercise coercive authority. And the reason why we do not find a satisfactory answer is perhaps that there is none to find, that there is as little justification for conceding this right to the State as to any other association, and that if the inequity still survives in civilized States, it is because we, in our inertia, have allowed it to continue because it *is*, not because we feel that it *ought to be* and cannot be dispensed with without prejudice to the real interests of society.

Let us labour this point a little. To say that the State has no more right to penalise the life of a citizen than any other association is to affirm a fundamental principle as to the relation which holds, or ought to hold, between individuals and groups including the relation of State-and-citizen. The principle is that in the case of groups which are associations there never can be inclusion in the extreme sense of absorption and obliteration of the subordinate individuals and groups. Man may be a political or social animal, but to say that he is nothing but this is to make a part of human nature express the whole of his being. Though man is a social being, he is yet not merely social, and a large part of his life is, as a matter of fact, lived outside society in the strict sense. For example, it is not for society to tell me when I shall eat or read or sleep, how much I shall eat or how long I shall read or sleep, or how I shall walk in the public streets, whether I shall walk erect or with a stoop, fast or slow, by the longer or the shorter way. These are matters which concern myself and myself alone in respect of which even a socialistic State would not be justified in interfering with my personal freedom and preference. Nor is it a fact that the State as sovereign authority is the supreme association that absorbs all other associations into itself. As a matter of fact, even the most despotic State does not in practice venture to act in accordance with the logical consequences of this assumption. No State, for example, presumes to interfere with the internal affairs of *all* the multifarious associations within its territorial limits and in the case of the British Empire we all know that non-interference in internal religious and purely social affairs of Indians is part of the general policy of the rulers. It is also necessary here to emphasize the distinction between a citizen as such and the individual who in a certain relation only is the citizen in question. The individual is a citizen only as a member of the national state, *i.e.*, as living within its geographical boundary, but he may also be a member of several international associations none of which are amenable to the law of the national state. Here is then an obvious possibility of a conflict of loyalties which no theory of State-sovereignty will allow. For example, the national State may come into collision with an international association like that of labour and may call upon its citizens to sever all connection with it in the interest of internal unity. How is a division of allegiance possible where one association would thus presume to encroach on the other's province? Would the State deserve a preferential allegiance even if the general good require a close, intimate relation with the other? Nor is this conception of the monistic State as absolute sovereign authority in keeping with the facts of inter-state relations of to-day. The older militaristic conception of the State as an offensive-defensive organisation against aliens is no longer an accepted principle of political theory though it may take a long time still to be the governing rule of political practice. It comes to be increasingly apparent that the highest possible good cannot be secured except by co-operation of different States, and that to the extent that the State is treated as a self-contained entity concerned with domestic development and protection against external aggression to that extent it will fail to achieve any of these results.

The conception of the State as the Leviathan Association absorbing all subordinate associations and individuals and endowed with unlimited authority on its citizens is a fiction that will not stand the test of a strict realistic analysis. The State, as it exists, is no such inclusively representative association as it is claimed to be, and the will which as a matter of fact finds expression in it as act of State is no general will in the sense of a harmonious common will of all or of the majority but almost invariably of the economically dominant minority. The will, *e.g.*, of the Council of State in India is the will of the minority of its financial magnates, not the general will of India nor even of the majority of Indians and associations of Indians. It is only on the plane of abstract theory then that the extravagant claims on behalf of the State as infallible authority as expressing the will of all can be made good and it is only as we concede these extravagant claims that the right of State to claim life for life can be justified. No life ever belongs to the State so completely and entirely that it can be regarded as the property of the State and the right to impose the extreme penalty accrues only as we acknowledge this pretended claim to ownership. The logic of pure monism, the logic which will make of every relation an internal development of essence may do in the sublime heights of idealism where all is harmony and peace, but as the logic of a world of war as well as peace, of struggle of might and right and of reason and unreason, it is any real mockery and a delusion. There is no more of that unity of purpose in affairs of State which idealism will enthrone than a commonness of aim in the political programmes of the rival parties in England. The empirical State in its internal affairs means in fact the rule of the group in power in its own special interests and often against the interests of rival groups. Nor is it strictly speaking a substitute for individuals in the sense of owning them as property and completely representing them in all their multifarious activities and functions. Only in respect of certain specified functions does the individual come within the province of the State and the conception of the individual is no more exhausted in the conception of citizen than human life is summed up in the familiar epithet political. For the State therefore to pose as avenger and claim to exact the extreme penalty on behalf of the victim is to arrogate to itself the right of ownership which never belongs to it. It is entitled to compensation proportionately to the extent of its actual loss, and the damage in this case as far as the State is concerned is not the loss of the individual who never belonged to it entirely, but the loss of certain services rendered by the individual. It is therefore only in respect of these that it may demand the punishment of the wrong-doer, such punishment, *i.e.*, as will make good its actual loss, or failing that, will be an effective safeguard against its repetition in future. To make away with the offending culprit may be the rough-and-ready solution that first impulse would seem to dictate, but it is neither the best remedy nor in any way a reparation of the loss. In its naivete it is more like the child's frantic rage which will vent itself in tearing the hair and scratching the person since no better remedy is at hand. A loss is not made good by adding to it another and the summary execution of the culprit, though it may ensure the end of prevention, means yet the loss of another citizen to the State with all the possibilities of good of which he might be capable. Nor does it follow that the only effective safeguard in this case is the destruction of the culprit since deprivation of liberty is as good a preventive as any other. The argument of expediency, it should be observed, is not strictly relevant to the issue. The plea of public safety may sound strong commonsense in an administrator not very particular about the morality or otherwise of his political conduct, but is, ethically considered, only a thinly-disguised Machiavellism which no civilised State would dare avow in public. We have as little right to punishment as a deterrent as we have to questionable and immoral means for the sake of an otherwise excellent and worthy end. The dignity of a person is the rock-bed of the moral life and the very idea of making an example of the culprit is a shocking violation of this basic principle of morality. The principle of end justifying the means will in fact lead nowhere if strictly carried out as there is no more reason why we should stop with the culprit when to drag the father, the son and the brother to a common fate would serve our purpose far more effectively and thoroughly. Nor is there any reason why we should take care to avoid unnecessary cruelty or torture when the purpose of an effective deterrent is best achieved by maximising instead of minimising the suffering of the victim. If the culprit must pay for the bad example he sets, if his own example is to act as a wholesome check to the passions he himself excites in others, why not make as good an example of him as is possible under the circumstances? Why not kill him inch by inch, mutilate, butcher, torture in all imaginable ways before you finally send him to his account? It is no answer to our question to say that there is no need of these and that in the infliction of punishment care should be taken to avoid unnecessary cruelty and torture as far as possible. As a matter of fact the methods hitherto adopted have not stopped crimes for ever and the need of severity, in accordance with the logic of this theory, is still as great as ever. Further if cruelty and torture are to be avoided as being not really necessary or unavoidable we fail to see why the extreme penalty should not be similarly avoided as a monstrosity and a survival unworthy of civilized humanity. Moreover, the appeal to fear which lies behind the argument of expediency is an appeal to that self-same irrational element in man to which the Hegelians will attribute the criminality of the culprit. It is an unworthy and immoral appeal to the inherent selfishness of man and if it succeeds sometimes in awakening the dormant higher man in us it must not be overlooked that it has failed more often than we are prepared to admit. Above all, it is necessary to remember that nothing is perfect under the sun and that the State is neither a perfect nor an inclusive association as it might be supposed to be. There is therefore much greater need of care and sympathy in administering a law not inherently infallible than a logically consistent retributive theory would allow. Punishment as a retribution may be the right thing in a world perfect and smooth and completely organised but in a world of warring groups and conflicting interests, its only valid meaning is *reformation.*

Behind the conception of the inclusive State having unlimited infallible authority on the lives of its citizens is the idealistic delusion that all relations are internal relations so that to be in a relation is to be completely merged in a higher inclusive whole expressing itself through the relation. Given two entities, the idealist argues, there must be a whole of the two entities, and given two such wholes or more there must be a higher unity comprehending and absorbing these as its integral parts. It is confidently assumed that no association can fall inside as well as outside another association, that all associations are necessarily connected together by vital and essential ties, and that even where there is no visible link between one association and another there must still be an invisible bond of unity whereby both are embraced in a more inclusive self-justifying system. The State, it is further assumed, is this self-justifying whole and its absolute authority is a necessary corollary of its logical status as the supreme all-inclusive body. Who is to judge, asks the practical politician here in league with the absolutist, between the respective claims of rival associations in cases of dispute and conflict? If an absolute, supreme authority is not admitted, if the right of State to unquestioned allegiance in all matters is not granted, chaos will be the result and society will fall to pieces. Who judges now, we ask in reply, between the claims of rival States? Is there a superstate of *all* the national states, any League of *all* the Nations with *authority* to coerce its members and enforce its decisions? There is, no doubt, some confusion, some war, some unnecessary waste as a consequence, but that is inevitable as long as the world is what it is, not a rounded off whole but a clash of contending forces, which can be called a monistic system only by a wilful blinking of the facts in the interests of logical orthodoxy.

We conclude then that all relations need not be internal relations, that given two or more things they may or may not be embraced in a higher unity or group, that given two or more groups they need not necessarily be absorbed in a higher inclusive group, that the State is not a supreme all-inclusive group that completely absorbs all other groups, that individuals are never completely merged and absorbed into the group or groups to which they may belong in certain relations, that individuals as citizens of the political groups called States are not properties of the State but have extra-political life as well outside the province of their respective States, that therefore the right of State to impose the extreme penalty does not follow even according to the retributive theory, nor also according to the deterrent theory which in the case of capital punishment tantamounts to the principle of end justifying the means—a principle immoral in conception and unworkable in practice. The only valid meaning of punishment under the actual conditions of our life here on earth, is reformation, not retribution, and capital punishment as the negation of the offender is the negation of the very possibility of reform.

SUSILKUMAR MAITRA

THE FESTIVAL OF "THE AIRING OF THE BOOKS"

From Darjeeling.

"I take refuge in Buddha,
I take refuge in Dharma,
I take refuge in Sangha."—

So four hundred and seventy millions of our race are intoning to-day!

There are many conflicting and varied traditions and legends as to the birth, life and death of Prince Gautama, who became the Buddha. Many are fantastic and even ridiculous ; but all are of interest, as they are believed by millions of his followers.

In this twentieth century over one-third of this earth's population worship at the shrines of the "Lord of Compassion"; his spiritual dominion extends over the entire Eastern Peninsula, from Nepaul to Ceylon, to China, Japan, Thibet, Siberia, Central Asia, and Swedish Lapland.

His pure and divine teachings were at one time the religion of India, and are still indelibly stamped upon modern Brahmanism.

Prince Gautama Siddhārtha was born on the border of Nepaul about 620 B.C., and died about 545 B.C., at Kusinagara in Oudh. We read in ancient script, "when Buddha Avatar descended from the region of Souls, and entered the body of Mahamaya, the wife of Sootah-Dannah, Raja of Kailas, her womb suddenly assumed the appearance of clear, transparent crystal, in which Buddha appeared, beautiful as a flower, kneeling and reclining on his hands," and that ten months and ten days later he was born in a garden beneath a satin-wood tree that stooped down to shelter the Queen, his mother."

In Sir Edwin Arnold's immortal poem, "The Light

Of Asia," he makes Buddha of immaculate conception, whilst the Thibetans affirm that he had no earth-parents, but was created of parts of all the former Buddhas, a sort of composite God incarnate, and born of a Lotus Flower—hence the secredness of that beautiful flower with its jewelled heart.

He is also compared to the "Udumbara tree," said to bloom once in three thousand years, and the Enlightened One had three thousand perfections!

The temple of Buddh-Gaya, in Northern India, just south of the present kingdom of Nepaul, is visited yearly by thirty thousand pilgrims, and there, it is affirmed, still stands the sacred Bodhi-tree (Pipul, *Ficus religiosa*) beneath which Prince Gautama sat and meditated forty days, was tempted by the Devis, weakened by fasting and prayer, and at last attained Enlightenment and Freedom, and became the Buddha. He began his public work as a teacher in the Deer Garden at Benares, where many disciples sought him out. But his great Sutras and the Dharma were written in the Jetarana Garden, which lay outside the city of Shavoet. The story is, that the King's son, Jeta, had a beautiful garden and the minister offered to buy it. The prince, by way of jest said, that he was willing to sell it if he would cover it over with gold. The minister obtained gold-leaf and spread it all over the garden, and the prince gave it to him." It was in this garden that a temple was built in which Buddha and his one thousand two hundred and fifty disciples assembled to study, and to learn the Path to Freedom.

"But to his own, them of the yellow robe—
Those who, as wakened eagles, soar with scorn
From life's low vale, and wing toward the Sun—
To these he taught the *Ten Obeservances*—
The *Dasa-Sil*, and how a mendicant
Must know the *Three Doors* and the *Thoughts*;
The *Six-fold States of Mind*; the *Five-fold Powers*;
The *Eight High Gates of Purity*; the *Modes*

Of *Understanding*; *Iddhi*; *Upeksh.*;
The *Five Great Meditations*, which are food
Sweeter than Amrit for the holy soul;
The *Jhanas* and the *Three Chief Refuges.*
..................Thus he laid
The great foundation of our Sangha well,
That noble order of the Yellow Robe
Which to this day standeth to help the World."

The Thibetans say that Buddha was born, attained Enlightenment, and died on the same date: hence their sacred festival, "The Airing of the Books," on that day. It is believed that even the winds that blow upon those one hundrad and eight tomes, "*the lotuses of Buddha*," will bear on their wings blessings. Hence it is a joy and privilege to all believers who are fortunate enough to see and touch the Books as the long procession passes by.

In Darjeeling the festival of the Books is heralded by trumpets and drums—to them there is no God above Buddha, who is *Om*, the all in one.

"Vishnu, reverence be unto thee, in the form of Buddha:
Reverence be unto the Lord of the earth:
Reverence be unto thee, an incarnation of Deity and the Eternal one:
Reverence be unto thee, O God! in the form of the God of mercy:
The dispeller of pain and trouble; the Lord of all things;
The Deity who overcometh the sins of the Kali-yug;
The Guardian of the Universe; the emblem of mercy toward those who serve thee———*Om*!"

THE AIRING OF THE BOOKS.

They come, they come!...
With zooming horns and beating drum,

With trumpet's blast and tom-tom's beat,
And rhythmic tread of sandaled feet,
With swinging robes, and murmured prayer—
Like droning bees in golden air—
With twirling wheels the Lamas come—
"*O-o-o-m-m Mani Padme Hum!*"

This is the day to air the Sacred Books—
The "Lotuses of Buddha," wise and true.
The Sutras born of fasting and of prayer,
Of meditation 'neath the Bodhi Tree.
The fruits of wisdom gathered with such care
In "Jeta's Garden," where he dwelt and taught,
And wrote the precious Dharma for mankind.
The Buddha of Compassion, whose heart broke
Over the sorrows of this sin-wracked world!
One of the Keepers of the Vineyard where
He dyed his feet in pressing out the grapes
Of grief, and sorrow, and the wrath of gods.

They come, they come!···
With zooming horns and beating drum,
With trumpet's blast, and tom-tom's beat,
And rhythmic tread of sandaled feet,
With swinging robes, and murmured prayer—
Like droning bees in golden air—
With twirling wheels the Lamas come—
"*O-o-o-m-m, Mani Padme Hum!*"

They bear the shrine, the Great God Buddh within—
All twined with flowers offered him in love.
With measured beat of drum, with trumpet's call,
With conch-shell's blaring sound, whose mighty blasts
Once caused the walls of Jericho to fall!
The Lamas march, in red and yellow robes,
Counting their beads and twirling wheels of prayer,
Intoning Buddha's many sacred names,

To win them freedom from the Karmic Wheel,
And grant Nirvana, and eternal bliss!
Follows a hundred girls from far Thibet,
From Sikkim, and Bhutan's rugged hills,
All in bright shawls, a rainbow pilgrimage,
To bear upon their backs the Sacred Books,—
The "Lotuses of Buddha," wise and true.
Up from the Temple the procession winds,
And down into the market's crowded marts,
That all may see and touch the precious tomes,
And by their faith, bring blessings to their lives.
Up, through the hills the music echoes far,
Up, to old Kinchenjunga's mighty range,
Up, to the snows that pierce the deep, blue sky,
Up, to the Heaven where Buddha hears and smiles!

TERESA STRICKLAND

THE RED OLEANDERS

III

One is tempted to interpret Vajragarh as a counterpart of the temporary detention camps improvised in Bengal in the days of her terrible tragic struggle for a larger measure of real legislative and administrative self-determination. Into these prisons the very flower of the youth of Bengal at one time became clapped for the safe custody of undertrial or never-to-be-tried detenus. In Vajragarh Ranjan, for instance, put out of harm's way by the politic Headman who orders him in vain to work in the tunnels, bursts out laughing at threats of severe punishment for disobedience to orders. This is a note of which the significant reference to some of the now famous Bengali youth need not be pressed on the readers' attention. Nay, far from being corrected by threats or the pressure of hard labour he maddens when sent among the diggers in the pits the whole lot of workers by his magic presence and organises in the prison house a cheering digger's dance keeping time with the strokes of their spades! His joyousness is an infection to the common diggers and the Deputy Governor is so amused with Ranjan's curious ways as to refuse to re-arrest him when he escapes from Vajragarh to Yaksha Town. Ranjan makes the labourers realise that work is joy and labour is love. He is above all fear, beyond command and threat and knows how to laugh to scorn the very suggestion of rule and authority, for, says he, he has come to tear off the mask of false gravity and artificial seriousness. Persecution and legal prosecution serve in the case of sincere patriots and heroic hearts only to evoke the finer elements in human nature which become consecrated to the service of a dedicated spirit's noble ideal of the emancipation of man. This portion of the drama is full of clear hints about terrible repression, devilish espionage, distrust and suspicion, gagging of free thought and its natural expression, use of slavish instruments by irresponsible power in crushing with an iron hand all true patriots and lovers of freedom. Here and there we come across unmistakable references to the shady tactics of base place-hunters and title-seekers. Exploitation of the labourer by the capitalist slave-driver is closely associated with that of the weak and unorganised by the strong organised State. There is petty tyranny everywhere. We have here in short the entire degrading, demoralising and despicable paraphernalia of government by brute force standing as an insuperable barrier between the subject people at the mercy of self-seeking officialdom and the Royal Family.

The fate of the imprudently bold Gajju brothers for their thoughtless audacity in challenging to a wrestling match the greatest power in the land leads to the question of the "well-being" of those who thus set up man-traps. Even the beautiful and tender *Nandini* asserts that unless one can live like men and is prepared to face death at the country's call what harm can there be in altogether ceasing to be? This in the Professor's language is the indignant outburst of the red oleander. He next moralises in a right Rousseauistic style over what man has made of man in showing the distinction between *Nandini's* vision of humanity and humanity as it actually is. The administrators of the Sardar type are secure only when the subject people are shorn of all power of resistance and these demons know the device by which not only all strength but also all hope may be squeezed out of those likely to offer opposition to irresponsible power. Even succouring one broken down by the Sardars' tyranny is made by the law of the land a criminal offence! A bit of a very conventional but extremely inhuman talk follows revealing the attitude of both the Sardar and the Gossain towards the masses who in this kingdom are kept alive just as much as is necessary to serve the end of exploitation in the economy of an unnatural world created by these wily slave-drivers eager to represent their precious arrangement as a providential decree! The Gossain's reference to the heavy responsibility laid by God on men of his class to bear which successfully it is needful that vital energy should fall to their share in a larger measure smacks of the White-man's burden. Bishu is allowed to enjoy seeming liberty only so long as through fear of the powers that be he is anxious to shun danger at every step. But he soon discovers that this liberty is only real bondage in disguise. When light dawns upon him through the emancipating contact with *Nandini's* soul, he at once discerns that fetters and hand-cuffs are simply a token of genuine freedom and liberation comes to his spirit in and through this supreme reality unfolded unto him eventually. If man's humiliation, if indignity unjustly heaped on man, does not make the powerful ones feel ashamed and feel themselves humiliated that is because of the brutal joy born of humanity's downfall which unfortunately the arrogant inner beast lurking in them delights in.

In this context it is not wrong to interpret Kishore as symbolically indicating a representative character typifying the noble self-sacrificing youth of Bengal, however misguided, if at all, in their zeal, once ready to sacrifice themselves on the altar of their country's cause. Bishu therefore advises as a true leader that he must avoid arrest so long as there is yet solid work for him to do—and a very dangerous piece of work too. He is to be employed in finding Ranjan out. Rabindranath's is too sane a political philosophy to accept the abstract idea of profitless self-sacrifice for its own sake. His idealism untouched as it is by mere sentimentalism sturdily rejects futile self-immolation. Kishore is destined to the glory of representing *Nandini* as her message-bearer to her Ranjan—it is he who is chosen to hand over her tassel of red oleanders to Ranjan. Kishore's highest reward is self-realisation achieved through *Nandini's* influence on his character. He is reserved as it were in order to deliver *Nandini's* message to the latter. *Nandini* entrusts to him the tassel of red oleanders saying as it were in her deep grief chastened by love—

> " How shall I deck thee, O Dearest?
> In hues of the peacock and dove.
> How shall I woo thee, O Dearest?
> With the delicate silence of love."

There hangs over the final scene a dark cloud of tragic irony making as it were the Fates sing in a strain like this—

> " What do you weave, O ye flower-girl
> With tassels of white and red?
> Crowns for the brow of the bride-groom,
> Chaplets to garland his bed,
> Sheets of red blossoms new-gathered
> To perfume the sleep of the dead."

This background of contemporary political life in Bengal with a special reference to its very acute form at the time of the composition of the play gives it, to my mind, a local interest which will in course of time lose necessarily a part of its significance. There will surely come a day when this element of something occasional in its character will fail to make as strong an appeal to the reader's *feeling* as it does to-day, even though as a valuable literary record of an important phase of the political evolution of the Bengali race its importance will not be overlooked by future generations of readers to whom it will be a momentous landmark in the history of their country's political regeneration. Some readers may feel justified to give too great a value to this aspect of the drama interpreting it as a scathing satire on the extremely reactionary administration of which the machinery and activities deserve to be mercilessly exposed. The rotten foundation of such a system is shown as if it were a thing decidedly self-condemned. So the whole superstructure is destined to go to pieces like a house of cards at the very touch of *Nandini's* irresistible soul force. In my view, this is not the main issue. Many a significant local touch on the socio-political side of life in this country at the present time is no doubt introduced with fine dramatic propriety and effect in portions of the play that stand out, however, in sharp contrast with its *deeper* spiritual aspects. We may, in passing, note an item like Phagulal's shrewd observation that the administrators have taken good care to set up their brewery and armoury side by side with their church or the remark that follows on the difference between a holiday in their village and one in this Yaksha Town of modern industrialism, or, for example, the way the possibility of their return to their former village life has been cautiously closed to the labourers by their benevolent capitalist employers!

It is equally noticeable that a highly realistic side scene—the Phagulal-Chandra one—has purposely been set over against the idealistic Nandini-Raja one immediately preceding it to bring out by interesting dramatic touches the dire effect of the sudden industrialisation of a purely agricultural society and life. The result of such a device may be to glaringly present the terrible evils of a purely economic civilisation imported into Eastern lands by Western materialism which alas! oftener than not comes to destroy more than to fulfil. In the land of its birth it may be nothing more serious than a temporary phase in a natural process of evolution bound in the fulness of time to work out a higher destiny and heal the passing wounds. In the Orient, however, it may possibly prove a poison that envenoms the very fountain of life in the rude, unlettered but highly sensitive and peace-loving, quiet peasantry enjoying for ages the undisturbed repose of happy harvest homes nestling among rustling bamboo groves and mango topes, far away from the maddening glare of electric-lighted but stinking, congested manufacturing centres. This difference may reasonably strike the imagination of a great poetic soul attuned to the harmony of the East however immobile it may appear to the industrial magnate or the political philosopher of the West. There is something significantly pointed in its acute humorous suggestiveness in Bishu's remark regarding the point of view of the butcher in relation to the slaughtered sheep's objectionable bleating.

In other side scenes the Governor and the Doctor, the Governor and the Headman, the Governor and his Deputy are introduced to reveal to us a detailed life of Yaksha Town or to give us an idea of the pervading atmosphere in which that life thrives or withers. Suspicion, distrust, mutual accusation, nervous fear, calumny of each other, backbiting, secret confidential reports, close watch on suspects, sycophancy of place-hunters, chagrin of disappointed suitors, favour-seeking, abject submissiveness of clever tools, sickness caused by hope long-deferred—all the abominable little details of the routine life of Yaksha Town in their utter hideousness are delineated in lurid vividness to bring home to us how wealth accumulates as men decay. The dramatic presentation of the pettiness of this ignoble life in all its sickening vulgarity and naked hideousness is mainly intended to visualise how humanity sinks low as the golden pile rises high. This in a manner serves no doubt as a sort of commentary on the plot and characters of the drama. Yet all this is preceded by scenes that better reveal the inner meaning of Yaksha Town life in its essence and show how *Nandini's* presence there has a double purpose. She does introduce into a compact homogeneous (not harmonious) order of sordid things a very disconcerting element—the element of divine discontent—completely irreconcilable with the whole atmosphere of this environment and she also brings in a ray of divine light into a dark and dingy hole. We must carefully catch the significance of the Professor's earnest warning to her to flee from the horrors of Yaksha Town—one devoured by the darkness of eclipse and which being itself torn to fragments cannot permit any of its inhabitants to *remain whole*. Yea, she must at once fly to a better world where men in their mad pursuit of mere pelf do not like robbers tear ruthlessly to shreds the very sacred skirts of Mother Earth's drapery and expose her to utter nudeness.

Here is the real clue to *Nandini's* mission. The "*Red Oleander*" is not a plea for simply bettering the economic status of the labour population. It does not merely aim at securing justice to the proletariat in their unequal strife with industrial magnates. It is not what we ordinarily call a social or sociological drama. Rabindranath does not, for instance, propose in this play to deal as his main theme with the problem relating to modern industrialism and the right relation of capital to labour as Sarayubala has done in her "Tribeni-Sangam" and "Devottar-Bishwanatya." My point of view will be perhaps clearer if I allude in this connection to the exquisite humour with which the dramatist artistically exposes the innate *vulgarity* of the life of these spies, informers, candidates for patronage and shrewd worldly-wise men with their eye ever on the main chance which tries to successfully masquerade as public-spirited zeal for the weal of the entire socio-economic organism. There is a subtler vein of humour akin to pathos in the way Nemesis is made to work on the Raja who suffered brute force to have its way with the inevitable eventuality that the overzealous Sardar kept him entirely in the dark while scheming the ruin of Ranjan which when ultimately revealed took the poor Raja by surprise but too late for him to avert the tragic catastrophe or undo the hideous mischief done to his soul's chagrin. The Sardar arrogates to himself power and responsibility, treats even the Raja as if he were in tutelage lest in his unwisdom or through sentimental soft-heartedness he should defeat his own grand object of perfecting the art of absolutism. The Deputy Governor's scruples are therefore ridden rough-shod over and the glorious task of crushing Ranjan and *Nandini* assigned to a better fellow—the Assistant Governor (*Choto* Sardar) ! Humour, like the fine edge of a costly razor, is at times too delicate an instrument for rough work and the sickening hypocrisy of the Gossain requires robust satire to be rightly dealt with and we are led by the dramatist to observe how his Jekyl and Hyde dual personality fights shy of squarely facing ugly facts lest his priestly function of telling his beads should suffer through the governor-side of his real character which may assert itself too openly. The Gossain, says Bishu most appropriately, has his rosary string made of the same stuff as goes to make the whips that are mercilessly plied on the poor and helpless workmen's backs of which Bishu himself once had a taste. He is on the surface a priest but at bottom a Sardar slave-driver and has therefore ever to play hide and seek with his own conscience. In the temple he must tell his beads but in his dreams he must be slave-driving !

The fundamental principle regulating industrial life—the true inwardness of the whole question of the economic relation of labour to capital is very finely hinted at, no doubt, by this Gossain's significant reply to the Governor when he reminds the Gossain of the urgent need for preaching from holy texts to the labour population lest their weak minds should waver. Says the Gossain—"Like the scriptural and Pauranic tortoise which supported on its wide back the sinking world these workmen and women of Yaksha Town are ever meek in their submissiveness to whatever burden of hard labour may be imposed on them and *that is how* the world of the upper few succeeds in raising aloft its head." The enunciation of this principle furnishes us with a clue to the mission of *Nandini* with regard to the submerged classes as distinguished from her mission regarding the Raja on the other hand. She must fire the soul of this proletariat, rouse their slumbering manhood, hold up before them an ideal, liberate their fettered spirit, rescue them from dull apathy, infuse hope into their depressed hearts, bring her Ranjan into their midst however great may be the sacrifice this noble mission involves. She must be at once the emancipator of the Raja as well as of the common masses as she has been so in respect of Bishu and Kishore and this consummation she will achieve with the help of her beloved Ranjan—nay at the sacrifice of her great love for him which is its true fruition. Very abruptly and somewhat undramatically by means of a forced symbolism the keynote of the drama is referred to by the Raja with the help of a dead frog liberated from a nook in the rocks where for good 3,000 years it had managed not to live but simply to exist. It simply knew how to persist in death-in-life or in a living death. Is there, we may ask by the way, a side fling at the conservative immobile Hindu society and its soulless and meaningless skeleton of mere usages and customs mechanically followed in these degenerate days ? At any rate the Raja is for liberation from the fetters of bondage in a rocky nook divorced from the vast energising life in the living universe of constant activity.

(*To be continued.*)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

THE RUSSIAN SITUATION

The Russian situation cannot be understood alone. Russia's life is inextricably wrought with the general life of Europe and a sound consideration of her present condition cannot be divorced from a study of entire Europe.

European political, military and economic controversies centre to-day around the same four storm centres about which they centred in 1918.

I

The first of these storm centres is the triangular situation in the west between England, France and Germany. England looks across at Germany and realizes that a third of her foreign commerce was with the Germans in 1913. She must have a strong, rehabilitated Germany because she has on her hands the greatest single chronic unemployment problem to-day that any civilized state has ever sustained. 1,240,000 persons are on her unemployed list, officially, and over 2,000,000 are on it unofficially. If Germany is kept down so that her workers must produce on sweat-shop wages, England's foreign markets are gone and a considerable section of her people must starve or emigrate. There is no other alternative.

France looks across the manche and says England has received what she wanted out of the war, the destruction of the German high seas fleet, the lion's share of the German merchant marine, and Germany's overseas colonies. France, on the other hand, claims reparations and security, and in her view she has received neither.

Germany looks across the Rhine and the North Sea, and is bitter for four reasons. Whether they are right or not, it is an objective fact that large segments of her people believe that Germany was fighting in defensive warfare. Secondly, all her intellectuals, and many of her workers, are extremely bitter that the food blockade was maintained against the coasts of Germany for six months after the Armistice was signed, causing the death from malnutrition and other diseases of several thousand German women and children, and older people. Thirdly, German womanhood has felt outraged for several years by the presence of dark-skinned troops of a low cultural standard in the Rhineland. Fourthly, almost every thinking German is convinced in his heart that the fourteen points on the basis of which he claims to have laid down his arms were violated.

Each nation, from its own point of view, is justified in its presuppositions.

II

The second storm centre of Europe revolves around the little Magyar State of Hungary and the Little *Entente* that was formed. The Little *Entente* was formed for two purposes, first to keep down the Magyar Irredentists and to prevent any Hapsburg from coming back to the throne of Hungary. Having successfully accomplished these two feats, it now turns its mind to reciprocal treaties, better trade-relations, and other acts of peace. The presence of a large Magyar island in Transylvania and of a sizable number of Hungarians in Slovakia with no little mismanagement on the part of the Roumanian and Czecho-Slovakian governments have aggravated the most bitter political feeling in Europe. The plain fact of the matter is that wherever the principle of self-determination of peoples is involved in a situation where there are large groups, such as the Saxons and Magyars in Transylvania, there must inevitably be hatred and, possibly, bloodshed. Even the most indiscriminate protagonist of Magyar aspirations cannot justify Hungary holding all the territory she held before the war. A wise administration in Czecho-Slovakia and in Roumania could do much in two decades to wipe out this storm centre of Europe.

III

The third storm centre of Europe is the Near East. This fundamental fact must be kept in mind by any one who chooses to understand the Near East: *viz.*, that the problems centring here are upon a different basis than similar problems in the Danube basin and in other parts of Europe. There, although there is an interweaving of populations with large diaspora in certain sections, nevertheless, roughly speaking, the racial groups are abutting islands and the self-determination of peoples may be applied and will probably be effective in these more or less mutually exclusive groups after a period of adjustment. A glance at a racial distribution map of the Near East will show an entirely different situation. When the principle of nationality is applied to an area which is occupied at the same time by three or four different races representing different classes in the community, each with national aspirations, it is obvious that catastrophe will result. That is, briefly, what has occurred in the Near East. The two best books on the Near East which are up to date on recent events are *The Great Betrayal* (Bierstadt) and *The Eastern Question* (Marriott, Oxford University Press). The latter is by all odds the best handbook there is on the Near East.

IV

The fourth storm centre of Europe is Russia. Obviously, all of Russia's ills are not due to the Red regime, no matter how bad that has been.

Russia is suffering from many calamities, any one of which would have sunk a great state. These are:

Inheritance of the Czarist regime:

Anyone who knew the old Russia or who has read Turgenieff, Tolstoi, Dostoievsky, or Pushkin knows that there was a lack of coherence and judgment in the Russian military and bureaucratic groups which ruled Russia. Those who took over the government—Karensky and, later, Lenin and Trotsky and their cohorts—had an inheritance of inefficiency, delay and graft.

The Great War:

The nation of the Allied and associated powers which lost the least number of troops was Japan. Then came Poland, then Greece, and then the United States. France lost next to the heaviest number while Russia lost a million more in battle dead than France. When to this is added the destruction of a million farm animals, one can easily imagine the social and economic dislocation in Russia consequent upon three years' participation in the Great War. When Trotsky signed the Peace of Brest Litovsk he did so after once quitting the Council and having been compelled to return, he and the Russian delegates signed it without once having read it. They could not do anything else.

Civil Wars:

Civil Wars half-heartedly supported by the Allies, General Ironsides and his polyglot troops, and in the Archangel, Judenich, urged on by the British; in the Baltic regions, Kaledin, Korniloff; Deniken in the south; Kolchak and the Czechs; Kalmykov, Semianov and the Japanese with the Americans, playing the part of watchful waiting in Siberia. Each of these White Army Attempts with the little response it called forth left behind it trails of battle dead, broken locomotives, ruined railroads, charred towns, and all the other social and economic results of warfare.

Dearth of Leadership:

An excessive number of the intellectuals of Russia were under the sod or among the emigré in any one of the thirty countries, or remained in some submerged capacity within the Soviet State.

Destruction of Culture:

Following the foregoing, comes the destruction of culture. Even Soviet reports reveal alarming conditions of easy living and the effort by Red authorities to teach every subject from social science to biology from the standpoint of the formula of the "Republic of Soldiers, Sailors and Workers." Perhaps the most discouraging, single element in present-day Russia to the educator is the insistence that all subjects be twisted to conform to a theory.

Attitude towards Russia:

A cause of suffering to the Russian people which should not be overlooked is the indiscriminately unfavourable attitude of the western press and the western world toward Russia. Even admitting that the news that came out of Russia was confused, state departments and the press have had ample time to get the case objectively before the mind of the western world, and this each, in the main, has refused to do.

Famine and Disease:

To dilate upon this point in such a publication as the *American Relief Administration Quarterly* would be carrying coal to Newcastle. Suffice it to say that the Russian famine and the epidemics which issued from the Astrakhan typhus focus are the greatest single visitations of their kind that modern times have witnessed.

Inflation:

This has added a hazardous and destructive element to the life of present-day Russia. Of all the post-war maladies the one least understood by the man in the street but universally present is inflation. It has sabotaged every university endowment, every bank account, every stock and bond, every medical foundation from Bremen to Vladivostok, and from Archangel to Odessa. One time on a train travelling from Sonelnikov to Ekaterinaslav I talked with a German who had worked nineteen years in North Dakota and in Chicago. He had saved a little over $10,000. This was brought back to the Ukraine and put in the bank. Then came the war. Finally came inflation. If he could have obtained his 22,000 rubles from the bank, representing his $10,000 account, it would not have bought a cigarette. Multiply this man's case by ten million similar cases throughout Central and Eastern Europe and you will have a grasp of the size of this affliction.

Experiments of Communism:

Perhaps in time, in some homogeneous group of equally cultured and high-idealled people, it will be possible to gather up all the fruits of man's industry and then equitably re-distribute these fruits. Such a task the Revolutionary Government in Russia attempted in different regions at different times, but in a nation with twenty-three different tongues and five antagonistic religions, it was an impossible task.

Russia suffers to-day not from one affliction, but from many. Many sanguine reports come back about the rehabilitation of the Muscovite world, but in the opinion of the present writer, Russia will not regain the semblance of a modern state for at least fifteen years, and perhaps not for two decades, even under the most favourable government.

GEORGE STEWART

DARJEELING POEMS

Dawn.

Fair Dawn stooped down to tint the primrose cups,
Using a borrowed sun-beam as a brush,
And filled them with the fragrance of her heart.
Across grey sky there stole a rosy flush,
And fir-trees, wakened by the singing winds,
Shook their dark mantles free of dewdrops bright—
And then a minah-bird burst into song,
And opening flowers sent butterflies aflight
The silver mist, like incense, soared aloft
And merged in dreamy clouds afloat on high;
The prayer-flags stirred above the Buddhist shrine
That topped the Hill against the bluing sky;
The Mountains flung their purple veils aside
And Pooja made to the new-risen Sun.
A call for prayer—a temple bell athrob—
Resurgent life—a new day had begun!

Mid-Day.

The white, white clouds, so peaceful, so serene—
With drifting shadows o'er the hills of green—
The mountains drowsing 'neath a dreaming sky
All wrapped in mists—and eagles floating high,
The trees, the flowers, all seem but half awake—
The hour when Nature rests to pooja make...
High-Noon! And Phœbus, drunk with his own light,
Reins in his chargers for their last, long flight.
A pause, a stillness for a moment's space—
A pause so tense our egoes to efface!
The varied blue tones vibrate o'er the sky,
Like muted prelude to Eve's symphony.

Evening.

Silently and solemnly came Evening down the hill-side:
Her draperies soft brushed the grass, her grey eyes open wide,
Were filled with dreams and mystery; her aura gave out rest—
And poppies from the afterglow were clasped to her full breast.
A kite sailed low, its wide-spread wings just, 'scaped the dark fir trees,
That topped the hill against the sky, like a rare, painted frieze.

Moon-Rise.

I watched the great, full Moon arise last night—
'Twas like a disc of burnished, shining gold,
As used by Beauty in the days of old
To mirror forth her charms and tender grace;
And on it I beheld the classic face
Of Artemis, with dark and floating hair,
With witching curve of throat, and chest so fair;
And there it hung against a wondrous sky,
As darkly blue as lapis-lazuli.
Ah, say ye not the gods are dead—'tis vain—
For I beheld the huntress chaste again
Soft-mirrored there upon a disc of gold,
For all who worship beauty to behold,
And thank the gods that be for gift of sight!

Mid-Night.

Mid-night, and moon-light!
Along the gradient hills the lights out-shine
Like constellations dropped down from above.
The mountains near, all wrapped in silver mist,
Seemed merged in contemplation calm and deep
The Moon, God's seal, stamped with Our Lady's face,

Was set upon the spreading, dark-blue sky,
Writ o'er in hieroglyphics of gold stars—
Which, could we read, a wondrous tale enfolds,
Of mysteries too deep for mortal minds!
Lo, far above the earth and dreaming hills,
A splendid vision dawned upon mine eyes...
The mighty range of Everlasting Snows,
In robes of glistening white, serene and pure,
As a Bride, adorned by the Creator's hands,
And coming down from Heaven to meet her Lord.

TERESA STRICKLAND

MOHAMAD REZA KHAN AND HIS TRIAL

II.

The Second Charge and the Defence.

This charge was with regard to the revenues of the Dacca province while he had that province in his charge, during the two Fasli years 1170 and 1171 (1763-64 and 1764-65).

The amount due to be collected in 1170 was	Rs. 2,57312-15
„ „ „ „ „ „ „ 1171 „	Rs. 2,57312-15
The total amount to be collected for 2 yrs.—	Rs. 51,47425-14
The amount actually paid into Treasury or accounted for the year 1170 ...	Rs. 23,39969
Ditto ditto „ „ „ 1171 ...	Rs. 11,04011
The total amount paid into Treasury or accounted for the two years ...	Rs. 34,43980
Therefore the total sum to be accounted for the two years ... ... was	Rs. 1703445

The only way to prove this charge against him was to examine the revenue accounts of this period and as Nund Kumar was at this time the chief minister of Mir Jafar, everything depended upon the evidence produced by this man. Hastings wrote to the Directors on the 16th August, 1773[1]:—

> "......The only clue we have left to lead to the investigation of the truth upon which to build a judgment is to obtain an account of the actual collections made in the province of Dacca for these years. We have with this view resolved that our President shall call upon Nund Comar for every paper and proof that he can produce in support of this charge and that these shall be given in trust to Mr. Barwell, the chief of Dacca with full powers of instructions to trace and ascertain, either

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[1] Parliamentary Collection, I. O. 9A. p. 237.

by the lights which they may afford, or, by any other means in his power such as the acquiring of the Mofussil papers, or obtaining information from the ancient Mutasaddis of the district an exact account of the real collections for the two years in which Mahomet Reza Cawn was the Naib of Decca."

[1] With all these efforts, they did not succeed in bringing forth any document which could prove his guilt. Richard Barwell, the chief of Dacca, in reply to the above letters of the Board wrote:—

> "The difficulty and I may say almost impossibility which attends the procuring the Mofussil papers of this district puts it out of our power to bring any positive proof from such papers of malversation against the Nabob Mahomet Reza Cawn's administration. We can therefore with propriety only rest the proof or disproof of his accounts upon an examination on oath respecting the collections that have been made........"

[2] Nund Kumar was thus given every chance to furnish evidence against his enemy but he failed to prove anything. Hastings in his letter to the Secret Committee, dated 24th March, 1774, says:—

> "With respect to the accounts of the Mizamat and the balance said to be due from Mahomet Reza Cawn for the collection made by him at Dacca during the life of Jaffier Ally Khan, it was certainly more in the power of Nundcomar than of any other person to furnish me with the fullest and the most authentic state of both.........
>
> "All these accounts on these heads which I have ever received from Raja Nundcomar stand upon record and they are such as appear more calculated to acquit Mahomet Reza Cawn than establish any proof against him................."

Under these circumstances the only course left was, as suggested by Richard Barwell, the Chief of Dacca, in his letter quoted above, to examine the officials of the districts concerned. Consequently, more than 160 Naibs and Serishtadars were examined. The net result of such a thorough inquiry was that it was established[1] "that no more was collected in the several districts by Mahomet Reza Cawn or his agents than the sums actually brought to account."

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[1] Miscellaneous Proceedings, Vol. 39B, Folio 95.

[2] Parliamentary Collection, I. O. Vol. 9A. p. 238.

[2]The defence put forth by Reza Khan was (1) that it was at the constant pressure of Mir Jafar that he accepted the post at Dacca which owing to the mismanagement of Mir Qasim's officials was in a state of confusion, the provincial officers had deserted the Cutcheri "and the Zimindars had withdrawn themselves from obedience." He accepted the post at the intervention of Major Adams; (2) that at the intervention of Major Adams he agreed to take up the post on condition that Mir Jafar gave him a written guarantee which was given to him, though Nund Kumar tried to stop it. The guarantee was as follows[3]:—

Reza Khan's Propositions.	The Nawab's answers to each article in his own handwriting.
I. As the tumults and disturbances in the above mentioned district to the Niyabat of which I am now appointed have operated to the hindrance to the government collections and the dispersion of the publick officers and Zimindars of those parts: the full revenue will not immediately be realised. I request therefore you will honour this article with your illustrious sign manual importing your consent that untill disturbances are at an end and good order is restored I may from time to time remit such sums as I may be able to secure on account	Until disturbances are at an end, remit as much as may be collected. After a settlement shall take place you will punctually remit the government's revenue month by month according to the Qist (or stated periods of payments).

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[1] President's Minute, Miscellaneous Proceedings, Vol. 39B, Folio 116.

[2] Ditto, Vol. 39A. Folio 190-200.

[3] Misc: Proceedings, 39B. Folio 202.

Reza Khan's Propositions.	The Nawab's Answers to each article in his own handwriting.
of the revenue and that a fixed settlement (Bandobost) shall take place when the government is established in firmness and tranquility.	
II.	
A force consisting of horse and foot is requisite for the reduction and chastisement of the refractory. Upon this head I request your orders.	The former establishment confirmed.
III.	
If any application should be made to your Excellency for Shehr Ameeny, Khas Newesy or other employments of the Dacca districts, I request they may be rejected.	Certainly.
IV.	
I request I may be allowed the charges of (Sihbundy) servants' wages, (Seranjamy) collection charges and Lawazimat (contingencies) as these articles may appear upon the accounts of the aforesaid district, the particulars of which shall be ascertained and transmitted to your Excellency.	They shall be allowed agreeably to the accounts.

(3) that after this written guarantee he took office at Dacca and tried to bring back all the revenue officials and Zimindars to their former post. But that "some of the Zimindars who had availed themselves of the commotion raised by the Sonassis to make their escape from confinement" would not be persuaded to return, "sensible how much the Nawab was distressed for money to defray his immediate expenses." (4) that he could raise only two lakhs which he sent to the Nawab and that he could not use force as this would have

spread alarm among "the people belonging to the English factory." (5) that the Nawab being thus disappointed in his hopes of getting money and at the instigation of Nund Kumar summoned him to Patna where he went with accounts. But that the Nawab would not accept any reasonable excuse and demanded sixteen lakhs of rupees. That on his inability to pay, the Nawab by threat of force made him write a bond for twenty two lakhs of rupees which were to be paid by him by instalments.

[1] The value of this defence was increased on examining the written guarantee of Mir Jafar which was proved to be genuine.

Nund Kumar alleged that the balance against Reza Khan was Rs. 9843035-15-7 and that this could be proved against him by a certain Mir Ismail who was dead and gone. Now considering the facts that (1) the Company on whom the burden of proof lay failed to prove anything against him, (2) the defence he put forth was not repudiated and (3) the comparison of accounts proved his innocence rather than this guilt, no judicious person would hestitate to acquit Reza Khan of this second charge of embezzlement.

[2] Hastings in his Minute said :

> " ....I know not what further mode of investigation to recommend, unless it be to cause minute scrutiny to be made into the Mofussil papers......I propose but not recommend this expedient, as the only one which could be made but which could produce no legal proof, and a presumptive proof but on one side only; for if it should appear from the investigation that the real collections of any one Pargana for one year amounted to no more than the sum brought by the Naibs to public account, it will be past a doubt that Mahomet Reza Cawn cannot have received more from that Pargana than he has accounted for, and it may be reasonably presumed from such a sample that his conduct would stand the test of a general scrutiny with as fair an acquittal. But if on the other hand it should be discovered that the collections have exceeded the

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[1] Misc. Proceedings, Vol. 39 B. folio 228.

[2] Miscellaneous Proceedings, 39B. folio 116.

amount brought to credit in the Khalsa books, this will afford no proof against Mahomet Reza Cawn; because embezzlement will be at least likely to have been made by his agents without his knowledge or participation......because there is no law that renders the head of an office responsible for every malversation of the people employed under him......"

[1] *The Third and Fourth Charges and the Defence.*

These charges related to his alleged embezzlement in the general collections of revenues as the Company's Diwan and in the management of the Nawab's stipend. The third charge was practically combined with the second one, because the papers which were examined also established his innocence in the matter of general collection of the revenues which he made when he was the Company's Naib Diwan.

Hastings asked Munni Begum to order Gur Das "to extract from the books and accounts of the Nizamat all the entries made in the name of the late Naib." It must not be forgotten that both Munni Begum and Gur Das were the declared enemies of Reza Khan, the latter being the son of Nund Kumar. Samuel Middleton, the resident at Murshidabad, was also ordered to hold inquiries.[2] These accounts were not sent till January, 1774, and even then they did not "more than any other papers furnished by Nundcomar afford anything like proofs" and were "more calculated to acquit Mahomet Reza Cawn than establish any proofs against him."

These Nizamat accounts were examined item by item and it was found that Reza Khan had no direct control over them. For instance, (1) the allowance of Mir Samani (head stewardship and kitchen expenses) were under Mohamad Alal Khan, who on being examined by Middleton acknowledged all the sums entered in his name. (2) Shiva Ram Pandit, who held this post some time before also acknowledged all the sums in his name. (3) Mohamad Niamat, in charge of the Charity Department acknowledged all the sums entered in his name. (4) The charges of Nowarrah were under the control of Jisarat Khan and Reza Khan had nothing to do with them. (5) As regards the Bhela Department, Munni Begum declared that she was perfectly satisfied that the sums entered there were for the Nawab's private use. (6) As for the balance against Lal Singh, Reza Khan was not responsible, because this man was appointed by Nund Kumar and was imprisoned for the mismanagement of the fund in his charge. (7) In the matter of Batta accounts, Gur Das accused Reza Khan of embezzling a sum of Rs. 231044. On inquiry it was found out that this sum was "in fact the amount of sundry assignment." Reza Khan in his defence on this item stated that (1) Lal Singh and Raghonath Pandit, the Cash Keepers were responsible for all the amounts due to the troops and that they issued all the receipts under their seal and signatures. (2) That the allowance of the Nawab being limited, there was no money left for giving presents to the officials on the occasion of festivals, and therefore the profits that accrued from the rate of exchange in paying the troops were appropriated for this purpose. (4) That his sudden arrest prevented him from completing these accounts.

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[1] Misc. Proceedings, Vol. 39B. folio 124 *et sequel.*

[2] Hastings' letter to the Secret Committee, 24th March, 1774. Parliamentary collection I. O. Vol. 9A. p. 238.

The Board again ordered the Resident at Murshidabad to examine the accounts very minutely and specially to see those accounts which Munni Begum termed private and which she did not want to show, fearing, as Middleton suggested, that the allowance might be curtailed when the Company's Government saw the waste of money.

Middleton, in reply, informed the Board that Munni Begum refused to show her accounts. Again, Middleton's verdict was in favour of Reza Khan. The nett result of all this investigation was that Reza Khan was found not guilty on these two charges as well.

The Fifth Charge and the Defence.

It will be remembered that this charge was set up by the Company's Government at the instance of Sir Robert Barker. The circumstances were that General Barker intercepted a letter which purported to be from the Emperor to Mohamed Reza Khan. The General at once wrote to Hastings :—

> "A circumstance has come to my knowledge which I think necessary to communicate to you: there has lately been at his Majesty's Court a man whose name is Zeenul Abdeen Cawn and proves to be a Vakil from Mahomed Reza Cawn. The enclosed is the copy of a Shuqqa from the king to Mahomed Reza Cawn with a translation. I had before information of some secret business carrying on between His Majesty and Mahomed Reza Cawn through this man and as I have by private means copies of all the King's letters, amongst others, this has fallen into my hands and is a confirmation of that I before had heard. I recollect this Zeenul Abdeen Cawn wanting to pay me his compliments in passing to his Majesty's Court, but as it did not appear he was going by any publik authority I refused to see him.
>
> "I have given directions and doubt not of getting to the bottom of this secret business when I shall not fail of transmitting it to you......."

The Shuqqa in question alleged to be from Shah Alam to Reza Khan read as follows :—

> "At this time Zeinul Abdeen Cawn hath represented at large before the threshold of our throne, the similitude of Heaven, the high degree of fidelity, allegiance and attachment which you the seal of nobility entertain towards our imperial government. These loyal dispositions demand our confidence and deserve on our part a continual augmentation of the royal favour. Your representations will be honoured with our highest regard and your good services be rewarded with our munificence. Formerly Jugget Seet's agents were stationed at our Court; but they have been detained thirteen years since in the fort of Konbheer. You will now use your endeavours to encourage him to re-establish a house: and it shall receive all due countenance and support. You will learn other particulars from Zienulabdeen Cawn's dispatches, and be assured that we hold you in our rememberence."

It appears from the other correspondence of Zain-Ul-Abedin produced in the Court that he was looking out for an employment. In a letter to Mirra Masita he wrote:—

> "......I have now some access with the King and the Marhatha chiefs, three of whom are in possession of all Hindostan. With each of these I am upon the best footing, as to enable me to procure good employment."

In another letter addressed to Amrit Sing, Zain-Ul-Abedin wrote that on his way he met the Nawab Vazir and discussed with him the question of an employment.

It seems from the evidence produced that Zain-Ul-Abedin also tried for the appointment of a Vakil of Raja Shitab Rai at the Emperor's Court. "Let the Arzee which is addressed to the King," wrote Zain-Ul-Abedin to Amrit Singh, "be so expressed that I may remain here as a firm and confidential agent on the part of yourself and the Nabab which will be a real act of kindness." In the same letter Zain-Ul-Abedin wrote that when the Emperor asked him to produce the Arzi from Reza Khan, he (Zain-Ul-Abedin) replied that he was himself an Arzi and that Reza Khan was ready to execute any command from the Emperor.

Reza Khan in his defence stated that Zain-Ul-Abedin had forged his and Banday Ali Khan's (his son-in-law) seals which were produced before the Board. This forgery, Reza Khan stated, was discovered through a certain Najab Khan who was Zain-Ul-Abedin's fellow traveller to Delhi. Immediately after this discovery Reza Khan sent Banday Ali Khan to find out everything. The latter wrote to Reza Khan (and this letter was produced before the Board):—

> "I was making search in consequence of the intelligence given to you by Nudjeb Khan concerning Zeenulabdeen Cawn having engraved seals; when I met with a seal of your Excellency which I took and have kept in my hands; the same which he has used for his correspondence. I wait for your further orders. From this there is reason to suppose that Zeenulabdeen Cawn has other seals in his possession."

Beside this defence of Reza Cawn which was accepted, the decisive evidence which established his innocence was the statement of the forgerer, Zainulabdin himself, who when caught and brought before the Board denied that he was ever employed by Reza Khan for sending messages to the Emperor. He further stated that once he received two letters from the Emperor, one addressed to Reza Khan and the other to the Governor General and that both these letters contained a request for transmitting his allowance through the agency of Reza Khan.

[1] It may be pointed out here that this forging of seal and signature was not entirely an uncommon thing at that time. Once a man forged General Hoper's signature in a Persian letter addressed to Ali Ibrahim Khan.

[2] *The Verdict.*

The judgment consisted of separate Minutes by the President (Hastings), Vansittart, Graham, Dacres, Lawrell and Aldersey. Goodwin did not deliver any Minute, because he was absent from many of the proceedings. Apart from these separate Minutes, was a joint resolution of the Board.

The President in his Minute said:—

> "Of every criminal accusation he has been clearly acquitted in the judgment of the Board. Of the demands made upon him for the balance and deficiencies of the unaccounted receipts and disbursements of the Dacca revenue he stands fully discharged by the result of the proceedings of the Chief and Council of Dacca with the reservation of the Company's right to the amount of his falsehood or engagement for the balance of 25 lakhs given to the deceased Nawab Mir Jaffier, with which his explanation of the circumstances on which it was founded, stand referred to the judgment and ultimate determination of our Hon'ble masters.
>
> "On these grounds there appears to me no foundation for prosecuting an inquiry into the head of accusation against Mahomet Reza Cawn, specially as his annual settlements were formed jointly with the resident

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[1] Bispatches to Bengal, 31st July, 1787. Vol. XVII.

[2] Misc. Proceedings, Vol. 39B. Folio 238 *et sequel.*

of the Durbar under the approbation of the Select Committeee, and as his were submitted treasury accounts of receipts and disbursement, attested also by the Resident, regularly to the Committee of inspection and control.

"Upon the last point, namely, the appropriation of the sums entrusted to his charge on account of the Nizamat and Bhatta, as Naib Subah, nothing has been established against him, nor has any account or voucher been offered on which a suspicion can rest of his having failed in the due discharge of his trust, excepting only the accounts now transmitted to us which the sum of Rs. 2,62,516-12-10 is said to have been appropriated by him to his own profit, being the difference of Batta on the Rupees actually paid to the servants of the Nizamat...... ....."

This Batta account was afterwards satisfactorily explained to Hastings by Ali Ibrahim Khan.

Here is an extract from Vansittart's Minute:—

"I believe Nundcomar to be solicitous to blacken the character of Mahomet Reza Cawn, both from motives of enmity and from an idea that it is requisite for the interest of his own family. I believe him to be so little scrupulous as to the means of compassing his views that it would be totally indifferent to him whether affected by truth or by perjury......

"I believe......that Mahomet Reza Cawn occasionally fixed the prices at which they (merchants) should sell and the persons to whom they should sell and that his people frequently attended the grain both for these purposes and to prevent it from being scrambled for and plundered.........The grain which was procured from Backerganj on the Company's account and which I believe was under Mahomet Reza Cawn's management might possibly have been mistaken for his own property by some of the natives of the country. Upon the whole I am of opinion that the measures taken by Mahomet Reza Cawn were such as appeared to him necessary for the subsistence of the inhabitants of Moorshidabad......"

Graham's Minute read as follows:—

".........On the subject of the treasonable correspondence with the King and the Marhattas I agree entirely in the opinion of the President and do therefore pronounce Mahomet Reza Cawn innocent of the crime laid to his charge........"

Similarly, Dacres, Lawrell and Aldersey in their Minutes unanimously declared Reza Khan's innocence. A joint and unanimous resolution of the Board to the same effect was also passed.

This resolution was sent to Mohamad Reza Khan, though the Company's guard on his house had been removed as far back as June, 1773.[1]

His reinstatement, dismissal and reinstatement again.

[2] During his trial he had fallen in debt and for two years he remained at Calcutta in the hope of reinstatement. Even so late as 1788 he owed three lakhs to Jagat Seth.

By this time the famous struggle of Hastings with his Councillors had begun. [3] Hastings did not want to reinstate him as is clearly proved by a letter he wrote to Sykes on 2nd March, 1773 :—

> "………In one point I am against him (Reza Khan). I will never suffer him, if I can help it, to regain his power. The Directors are mad if they do; for the Government of the province is now entirely at their disposal, without a competitor for the smallest share of their authority."

Thus it is evident that he opposed Reza Khan's reinstatement as a matter of policy and not for any personal grudge or enmity against Reza Khan.

[4] Reza Khan, seeing his position, joined the opponents of Hastings, much against the sound advice of Ali Ibrahim Khan. But Reza Khan was daily led on false reports "by the sycophants of Calcutta and dependants of the English" whom he promised large sums of money on his restoration. If the words of the Author of Seir are to be accepted, Ali Ibrahim used to say to Reza Khan :

> "Let us go on as we have hitherto been going. The Governor has certainly saved your life and honour. Without forgetting such benefits

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[1] Parl. Collection I.O., Vol. 9A., p. 193.

[2] (1) Wardat-I-Qasmi, Folio 167.
(2) Ascoli, p. 48.
(3) Seir, Vol. III, pp. 67-68.

[3] Gleig's "Memoirs of Warren Hastings," Vol. I, p. 283.

[4] (1) Seir, Vol. III, pp. 80 and 67-68.

and becoming ungrateful of such favours, let us wait and see what will become of the two parties. If the Governor holds out, he shall think himself obliged by your firmness of temper and the steadiness of your friendship and attachment to him ; and he shall find means enough to promote your welfare in a manner adequate to your rank; and should the General become absolute, he will not for that bear you any grudge; for you have not done him any wrong, nor have you misbehaved to him; nor have you done anything to render him your enemy. It is even probable that pleased with the steadiness of your temper he shall use you in a manner suitable to your rank and station."

In the meanwhile the Court of Directors' letter of 3rd March, 1775, arrived. The Directors wrote ;—[1]

"The conduct of Nundcomar, in the part he has taken against Mahomed Reza Cawn appears to us very inconsistent and unworthy, that we feel a repugnance to the continuance of his son in the high office of Roy Royan of the province; and as the acquittal of Mahomed Reza Cawn warrants us again to employ him, we direct that if he can with propriety accept of that office, under the regulations and restrictions established by our President and Council and with the salary granted to Raja Gurdas for executing the same, he be forthwith appointed thereto, and receive a proper Khellaut and such other marks of distinction as are usually conferred on natives on like occasions. We mean not by this appointment to restore Mahomed Reza Cawn to any improper degree of power, but merely to testify our satisfaction on finding his former conduct has been so much better than we expected."

[2] Immediately on the receipt of this letter Hastings' opponents moved the motion for the restoration of Reza Khan to the office of Naib Subah. Hastings opposed this motion but it was carried by the majority on 18th October, 1775. The resolution ran as follows :—

"Ordered, that the Secretary acquaint Mahomed Reza Cawn that the Hon'ble the Court of Directors have been pleased to approve of the proceedings of the late Board on the investigation of his conduct......and that he be further acquainted that the Hon'ble the Governor and Council have, therefore, been pleased to recommend him to the Nabob Mobarek O'Dowla to be Naib Soubah or Minister of the Sircar and Guardian of his minority, with authority to transact the political affairs of the Sircar, to superintend the Faujdari Courts, and the Administration of Criminal Justice throughout the country and to enforce the operation of the same on the present establishment or to new-model or correct it. As the Board wish that he shall have full control of the Criminal Courts in the character of Naib Soubah, they propose to remove the Nizamat Adaulat, now at Calcutta to be held in future at Moorshidabad."

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[1] Dispatches to Bengal, 3rd March, 1775.

[2] (1) Wardāt-I-Qasmi, Folio 167 *et sequel.*

(2) Firminger's Introduction, p. ccxliii.

(3) Aglos "State of British Authority."

It may be remembered that Reza Khan before his trial held the double post of Naib Subah and Naib Diwan and in the latter capacity he was in charge of the Company's revenue. But in 1772 the Company had resolved to "stand forth as Diwan" and so the restoration of Mohamed Reza Khan in 1775 was only to the post of Naib Subah and not to the post of Naib Diwan.

The Court of Directors in their letter of 24th December, 1776, approved of Reza Khan's restoration but they did not approve that part of the Council's resolution which committed "the administration of criminal justice entirely to the superintendence of Mahomed Reza Cawn," as the jurisdiction of his Faujdari Courts, they thought, would clash with that of the Supreme Court.

Reza Khan[1] on his re-appointment was given the following instructions by the Governor General on 9th November, 1775 :—

(1) He was "to pay the strictest attention to frugality in the Nabob's expenses ..and an annual account of them to be transmitted through the Resident of the Durbar for the inspection of the Board."

(2) To "pay great attention to the education and morals of the young Nabob" and "to cause as much of the official duties and public transactions as possible to pass under

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[1] Parl., Collection, I.O. Vol. 16A., Folio 716.

his inspection to habituate him to the practice and to instruct him in the knowledge of business."

(3) To be responsible for all matters in dealing with European settlements and in all disputes arising therefrom and to see that competent men were appointed to minister justice.

From October, 1775 to March, 1778, Reza Khan continued in office. Unfortunately for Reza Khan, General Clavering[1] died of dysentery on 29th March, 1777, and this gave Hastings the opportunity of dismissing him on 7th March, 1778. The reasons advanced by Hastings for this step were the repeated complaints of the Nawab against Reza Khan. Mubarak-Ud-Daula wrote to Hastings on 12th February, 1778 :—

> " I [2]have already addressed repeated letters to your Excellency, stating very fully the trouble and uneasiness I suffer from the Nabob Mahomed Reza Cawn's being invested with the office of the Naibship of the Nizamat, with the management of the affairs of the country, and of the several offices of my household, the administration of the business of the Adawlut and Phoujdarry within the Soubahs, and of all the affairs of the Nizamut, as well as of my domestic concerns and the superintendence of myself and family ; because the said Nabob regarding only his own benefit, and the increase of his greatness in future pays no regard or attention to my interest or advantage."

The other reasons advanced by the Nawab were that Reza Khan was not related to him and that he himself had reached the age of maturity.

In [3] the place of Reza Khan, Sadr-ul-Haq Khan was appointed. This choice of Hastings was very unfortunate, because not only his opponent "Aglos" in his pamphlet calls Sadr-ul-Haq Khan "a poor superannuated dependent for Mr. Hastings" but also the authors of Wardat-I-Qasmi and Seir call him old and incompetent and a friend of Hastings and it must be remembered that the Author of Seir is a great admirer of Hastings. He writes :—

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[1] Trotter's "Warren Hastings," Rulers of India Series Edition, 1890, pp. 138-139.
Parl. Collection, I.O. Vol. 16A, p. 733

[2] Parl. Collection I.O., Vol. 16A., Folio 726.

[3] "Aglos" pamphlet.
Wardat-I-Qasmi, Folio 167 *et sequel.*
Seir, Vol. III, p. 91, etc.

> "Sadrul Haq Khan was appointed to succeed him...though the Governor himself must have been sensible, that so much business was by all means above the old man's capacity and strength. Nevertheless, as he had become one of the Governor's acquaintances, so early as the latter's first appearance in Bengal ; and at his second coming he had proved himself an assiduous worshipper at the altar of his power, without ever relaxing in the revolutions that had followed...the Governor devised these two offices for him as a reward for his attachment, although they seemed to be so much above his desert."

This remark of the Author of Seir must carry a great weight, because he was not only friendly with Hastings as pointed out above, but was also hostile to Reza Khan.

Another argument against Hastings, though it comes from his enemies, has a good deal of weight. If Hastings removed Reza Khan, because he thought the Nawab could manage his affairs, then why did he appoint Sadr-ul-Haq Khan and ask the Nawab to follow his advice in his letter of 11th September, 1778 ?

But before condemning Hastings it has to be remembered that he was assailed by his opponents on all sides. Reza Khan had distinctly identified himself with Hastings' opponents. The struggle that was going on was not based on matters of policy, but had become entirely personal. Francis wanted, as the following letter of Hastings will show, to put his own men in power and thus to undermine Hastings' influence. Being a human being, Hastings also had to take measures to defend his own position by removing his opponents' followers, one of whom Reza Khan undoubtedly was. Here is an extract of Hastings' letter to Sykes, dated 23rd April, 1778 :—

> "My [1] behaviour to him while he was under the displeasure of the Company was as kind as it was possible to be, while I rigidly conformed...

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[1] Gleig's "Memoirs of Warren Hastings," Vol. II.

to the orders which I received...Those orders were accompanied with private intimations of a suspicion that I would not obey them......I allowed him a fair trial ; I showed him every public mark of respect ; I permitted him to retain his Jagheer and even employed the influence and powers of Government to assist him in securing the rents of it. In this last instance I went so far as to cause his Aumil to be arrested and kept him a prisoner in the Khalsa, for embezzlement of the collections. At that very time he connected himself with General Clavering and his party and he did it in the meanest and most adultery manner, by the unsolicited offer of useful informations to be admitted only to the presence of the General...

"It was not my desire to draw upon me a fresh host of enemies by a vindictive treatment of Mahomet Reza Cawn when he came afterwards into my power...But some restitution was due to the Nabob and his family, especially Munny Begum for the sufferings which they had sustained on my account and my own credit and influence required it. I could not do this without affecting M. Reza Cawn. All that I meant to do was to give the Nabob the management and control of his own household and leave Mahomed Reza Cawn as his Naib in charge of the public offices of the Nazimut with the same allowance as he has hitherto enjoyed. This was not taking much from Mahomed Reza Cawn...but as it required his consent if he was to be a party in it, and as prudence required that while I allowed him to retain so enormous a power, I should be certain that he would not employ it to hurt me. I suspended my intentions till I could know his on both these points. For that purpose I commissioned Mr. Anderson, who was his friend, to make him an offer of the continuance of the offices which he then held, excepting only the management of the household, with his Jagheer and allowances, if he would declare himself satisfied with this arrangement, and solemnly promise to entertain no political connection which was adverse to me, nor to engage in any intrigues or plans against my interest or authority, while I remained in the Government................

"Mr. Anderson executed his commission faithfully to me and fairly and honourably to him, but without effect. M. Reza Cawn rejected the propositions, affected the tone of dignity of oppressed worth and even made use of the insolent pretext that I had not written to him a formal letter on the occasion and therefore he could not give the writing I demanded.........

"It has been the policy of Mr. Francis, and a most unjustifiable one, to inculcate every report, true or false, by which my influence may be weakened, and people discouraged from confiding in the acts of Government and excited to oppose them.......... He has his dependants and other instruments everywhere. M. Reza Cawn was the most powerful of his agents and therefore it was more especially incumbent on me to deprive Mr. Francis of his aid. The first means which I used to effect this you have heard. These having proved ineffectual and M. Reza Cawn having in effect declared by his refusal of my advances that he would be my enemy, I had no alternative left but to disarm both by the same act; by investing the Nabob himself with the management of his affairs and divesting M. Reza Cawn of the Neabut."

This long letter of Hastings goes a long way in clearing his position. It was after Mohamad Reza Khan had rejected the compromise that he dismissed him. But this decision of Hastings was disapproved by the Directors who in their letter of 4th February, 1779, ordered "that Reza Khan be immediately restored." Immediately on receipt of this letter, Francis moved for his restitution and an order to this effect was issued on 24th November, 1779, in spite of Nawab's protests. He continued in office till 1787, when he himself retired.[1] A year before his retirement he paid a complimentary visit to Cornwallis on his arrival from England. The Nawab Vazir Sadat Ali was also at this time at Calcutta.

The Controversy.

For about a century and a half Reza Khan's name, like that of Hastings, has been associated with all that was corrupt and unscrupulous in the Company's Government of this time. But Hastings, being more prominent, has attracted a good deal of the attention of historians, some of whom have vindicated his position successfully. Reza Khan's case, on the other hand, has never been taken up and studied in detail. The pity of the matter is that almost every writer has given his opinion and yet none has studied him. If, however, any writer has said anything favourable for him, it has been more with the idea of condemning Hastings than commending Reza

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[1] Ascoli., p. 94.

Khan. But these few pages clear the position of both. If they establish Reza Khan's innocence, they also show the fair-mindedness of Hastings. At first while the trial was going on Hastings believed Reza Khan to be guilty, for writing to Sykes on 15th January, 1773, he says:—[1]

> "I verily believe him (R. Khan) culpable, and some of the charges, I think I can clearly establish, but I want both time and assistance for such a work........."

But when he examined the case he acquitted Reza Khan in spite of his personal belief at first in his guilt.

That the trial and inquiry were thorough nobody can deny after studying the two volumes of Proceedings. Hastings did not rely merely on the material supplied by Nund Kumar. Reza Khan was dismissed and put into confinement to give people an opportunity of saying what they wanted against him.

> [2] "..........But not relying,"

wrote Hastings to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors on 24th March, 1774,

> "wholly on his (Nund Kumar's) aid, I took such other precautions as were most likely to produce informations against Mahomed Reza Cawn, if his conduct had really merited that return from the people of this country. In concurrence with the Committee of Circuit at Cossimbazar and with the Council here, I published advertisements, inviting all persons to give information against such as had contributed to the distress of the country in the time of the famine......... I allowed all those who had anything to offer on these subjects to have access to me.........., in a word, I omitted no means to bring the truth of this accusation to light."

The verdict of Reza Khan's judges is absolutely clear and Monkton Jones, who is one of those writers who have offered their opinions without studying the case— for there is no mention of the proceedings of trial in her list of Mss. authorities— says:—

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[1] Gleig's "Memoirs of Warren Hastings," Vol. I. p. 280.

[2] Parl. Collection I.O. Vol. 9A. p. 238.

> [4] "To determine how far the evidence offered was genuine and not malicious was almost impossible. The records of their offices were overhauled but foreign characters and the intricacy of detail in which they were presented rendered them almost unintelligible. The net result was a verdict based inevitably rather on the general characters of the prisoners in public opinion, both native and English, than on a strict process of law."

But Miss Jones entirely forgets that according to "a strict process law" the burden of proof lies on the plaintiff and not on the defendant. It was the duty of the Company to prove the charges made against him but they failed. If it is said that these charges could not be proved on account of the difficulties that were in the way, it can also be asserted with the same confidence that there was no proof in existence because there was no crime. To go any further than this is to question the whole philosophy of law and to enter into a field of endless controversy and difference of opinion.

The original author of Reza Khan's condemnation which has passed from hand to hand— because to the knowledge of the present writer none has studied the proceedings of his trial which have been acquired from Calcutta by India Office — is Grant, who in his famous "Analysis" at first credited him with "honour, sagacity and moderation locally understood;" but later on called him "a wholesale plunderer" and "the great defaulter," accusing him of embezzling two crores of rupees.

But it has to be remembered that Grant was a contemporary writer and therefore suffered from all the defects of a contemporary writer. Secondly, nobody knows on what authorities he based his judgments and opinions. Thirdly, he had a particular aim in view in writing this "Analysis" to prove that Bengal was capable of yielding more revenue and this he wanted to prove by showing that a good deal more than what was entered in the Company's treasury was realised from the *ryot*. It is quite conceivable that Grant carried away by his enthusiasm in proving his thesis put his finger on Reza Khan, for when his "Analysis" was published in April, 1786, Reza Khan was still in office.

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[4] Jones," Hastings in Bengal," p. 173.

The facts and figures which Grant quotes were probably taken from Persian registers of the Mughals which, as Firminger observes, were to be taken[1] "as budgets rather than cash accounts."

Ascoli, who in support of his contention, quotes figures to show the futility of Grant's thesis rightly observes:

> "That some defalcation occurred is very probable, but in Mohamad Reza Khan's favour it must be stated that in 1772 he was charged by Warren Hastings with embezzlement and acquitted; and that in 1788 he still owed Jagat Seth, the banker, a sum of Rs. 300, 000, an improbable contingency, if his defalcations had been carried out on so stupendous a scale."

His Character.

Reza Khan's trial is such a dominant feature of his life that any discussion on his character is likely to include this subject and the verdict is very likely to be influenced by the result of that trial. Accepting the two established principles of law that the burden of proof lies on the complainant and that the benefit of doubt goes to the defendant, and considering the favourable verdict of the judges who, living, as they were, in that age knew all about the conditions of that period, it is not difficult for the writer of to-day to give a verdict in favour of Reza Khan and exonerate him from the charge of being a "wholesale plunderer" and a "great defaulter." A careful study of the proceedings of his trial serves to show in a very vivid way the conditions of life and the standard of morality prevalent at that time and it has to be remembered that Reza Khan was born and bred up in those very conditions and amidst those very environments.

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[1] Firminger's introduction. Vol. II. p. XX.

Unfortunately all the contemporary opinions available about Reza Khan are prejudiced in one way or the other. First, there is Hastings who might have had a favourable opinion for him after the acquittal if Reza Khan had not joined his enemies' party. Secondly, there are the opinions of his two proteges, Mohamad Ali Khan, the author of *Ta'rikh-I-Muzaffari*, and of Karam Ali, the author of *Muzaffar Nama*. Both of them are loud, as is natural, in the praises of their patrons, and the latter author freely writes in his preface that he wrote his history to relieve the widespread disaster that had overtaken the people on account of Reza Khan's fall. Every judicious person will naturally reject the opinions of both of these writers. Thirdly, there is the verdict of Ghulam Husain Khan, whose hostility to Reza Khan is visible in every line that he writes. He charges him with almost all the vices that a human being can be afflicted with. But unconsciously there are many contradictions in these accusations.

First [1] and foremost Reza Khân is accused of trying to ruin Munni Begum with whom he was on best terms at first and of trying to raise her rival Babbo Begum "upon her ruin." But before giving any weight to this accusation one has to remember the intrigues and counter-intrigues which have always been prevalent in an eastern harem and which always develop in an atmosphere of personal rule. Her despotic [2] temperament and her influence due to her vast wealth, which at that time was enough to secure a good many followers and hangers on, must have been specially embarrassing to a man in Reza Khan's position and responsibilities. Besides, Mubarak-ud-daula's accession to the Nizamat naturally must have given some influence to his own mother to whom Reza Khan was bound to show some regard which Munni

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[1] Seir, Vol. III, p. 26.

[2] See notes on Munni Begum, *Vide* "Col. Murray's Correspondence," edited by Imtiaz M. Khan, London University Library.

Begum must have resented, remembering the fact that both these women were the natural rivals.

Secondly,[1] Ghulam Husain Khan accuses Reza Khan of dismissing several officials, but at the same time he admits that "the times were now become so corrupt that evey man in Mubarakuddaula's household was addicted to infidelity and malversation."

Thirdly,[2] Reza Khan is accused of being ungrateful to Ali Ibrahim whose services he at first recognised but later on quarrelled with him and dismissed him. This charge is difficult to repudiate in view of what is known of Ali Ibrahim Khan's lovable character.[3]

Fourthly,[4] he is called hasty and thoughtless. If his joining Claverings' party is an instance of this fault then it has to be admitted that he was hasty and thoughtless.

Some [5] of the other faults attributed to him are those of extravagance, immorality, idleness and pride, which according to Ghulam Husain Khan were to be found even among his children. But the translator, in a small footnote, adds a very significant phrase which repudiates a good deal of Ghulam Husain Khan's prejudiced opinion. He says :—

> [6] 'All these strictures are much exaggerated. Mahomed Reza Qhan when he pleases is certainly a man of great sense.'

This opinion helps a good deal in rejecting Ghulam Husain's verdict that Reza Khan had "provided to himself a bad character" and that he had "become a standing stock for the curses and imprecations of mankind."

Leaving these contemporary opinions aside and judging the man entirely from the facts of his life recorded above, it is impossible either to condemn him whelesale or to raise him high above an average man. He lived in a world which is entirely different from the world of to-day. Though honest himself, he could not create honesty in others. He submitted to the world in which he was born, and submitted without a struggle. There is nothing on record to show if he ever tried to reform or to correct matters on his initiative. He always remained what he was—an average human being.

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[1] Seir, Vol. III, pp. 31 and 82.

[2] Seir, Vol. III, pp. 70-71.

[3] See notes on Ali Ibrahim Khan, *Vide* "Col. Murray's Correspondence."

[4] Seir, Vol. III, pp. 80 and 148.

[5] Seir, Vol III, pp. 148-50.

[6] Seir, Vol. III, p. 150.

(*Concluded.*)

IMTIAZ MOHAMAD KHAN

POST [illegible]

WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE HINDUS

It has been asserted *ad nauseam* that the Hindus are on the down-grade. The melancholy statement has been accepted without demur. Even Hindus do not think fit to face it out. On the other hand Hindus themselves are the worst offenders in fouling their nest. They heap harsh adjectives with both hands on their devoted heads. They steep themselves in self-reproach as though the thing were sugar and spice and all that is nice. There is perhaps nothing that so greatly threatens the welfare of the Hindus as this sombre indulgence. For thoughts shape reality as few suspect.

Some would have us harp endlessly on our several defects. They think that is the straight road to regeneration. Hindus often evince signs of weakness. There is no doubt of that. They are placid or appear to be. They are averse to action and indifferent about unity. No tidal wave of high moral fervour sweeps across their breasts. They are decaying—dying. One may spread oneself out in this strain to one's heart's content. No race can convincingly give the lie direct to such accusations. Their very vagueness invests them with plausibility.

That the Hindus are a remarkable race who can deny? They have shown the most amazing staying power. They have survived cyclones of misfortune, sand-storms of invasion, subjection, persecution, blood and iron. They seldom failed to rise superior to adversity and to conquer their conquerors. A less tenacious race would have been wiped off the face of the earth. The Hindus can still stick out their heads towards a future as bright and glorious as any epoch in their belauded past.

Who said that the present-day Hindus are an object of pity? He is much mistaken, I can tell, Such a view may seem to be born of blind optimism. One may assert with an air that the Hindus are in a sorry plight to-day. But it is so only to outward seeming. The old virility is still there. The old capacity to adjust, to accommodate and survive in the midst of death and destruction is there still. These may not be on the surface for he who runs to see. They lie deeper down and keep the race-blood from decay.

But why do even shrewd and knowing observers agree that all is not well with the Hindus and that signs are not wanting to show that debility is upon them. The reason is not far to seek. The present is a time of profound transition for the Hindus. The loyalties of yore are yielding to the time-spirit. The urge of a new orientation is felt by all. The Greek gifts of the past such as *untouchability* and other outrages on human equality have been subpœna'd to answer to a charge of high misdemeanour. The impact of modern ideas on the age-old habitudes of India has brought about a state of flux which gives an appearance of degeneration, of listlessness and apathy to the vast majority of Hindus. Times of change lack the strength that comes of stability and it will be some time before the Hindus can find their feet again. It is easy to mistake the signs of transition for alterations of structure and set up a universal lament about them. The mistake is made by even men of light and leading.

"What about the Moslems ?" one may ask. They have no lack of solidarity, of virility, of the capacity for uniting and hitting out. Are they not affected by the new orientation ? Are they not in the swim ? The answer is clear. They keep to the old moorings in some respects at any rate. The majority of them have not yet weighed anchor. They are still animated by settled convictions—of a state of mind which helps homogeneity and action in the extreme. Reason has yet to loosen the bond and pitch them on the parting of ways. The Hindus take thought, the Muslims act. Thinking seems to make cowards of the Hindus. No, dozens of times have Hindus obeyed impulse and rushed to action. But not those who keep abreast of the times.

The Hindus are said to be disunited. Efforts are in evidence to unite them. They want to galvanize Hindus into a sense of unity that a common religion is likely to forward. They would have Hindus to organize themselves on a war-footing. Several of our most trusted leaders are making a supreme endeavour to make the Hindus a match for the Muslims so that peace between the two great communities may ensue. Those who cannot see eye to eye with them must at least pray for the attainment of their end.

But is it permissible to doubt if they are on the right track to composing Hindu-Moslem enmity? The attempt to organize a people on a religious basis is not beyond criticism. Religion, as it is commonly understood, has become bigotry of the deepest dye and bred intolerance but too often. It is possible to rely too much on the virtue of religion to put things to rights. The solution does not seem to lie that way.

There is much variety of religion in the world, indeed much more than is necessary. But humanity after all is one. That is the fundamental fact. The only basis of unity is brotherhood. We often build upon the sand and believe ostrich-like in the prospective strength of the edifice.

The real remedy for Hindu-Moslem differences is education,—Universal education of the right kind. Education can alone make religion truly religious. It alone can broaden the mind and lead to brotherhood. The masses must be released from bondage to mere prescription. The slave of superstition has no emancipation except through the gate-way of knowledge. There is only one thing that can set the mind free—*education.* Organise the Hindus on whatever lines you like but educate the Moslems at all costs. There is no salvation for this unhappy land without education that leadeth to brotherhood.

N. K. VENKATESWARAN

SHE AND HE

SHE:

O, say no more, friend, he is mine,
He knows not I am his.
Does he for moment feel the pang
To heart this absence is?

HE:

The course of true love's never straight,
Like serpent's trail it be,
Self-born breed of pets of love
In damsels fair, we see

LOVE BIRD'S SONG:

From on high the song is heard
Sung by Love's unseen love-bird—
Love is Love for maid and man,
Love-washed eyes alone it scan.
Look within find Love is Love—
So below and so above.
Love is blind to lover's face,
Love is life in joy's embrace.
Love is fire that ever burns,
Love is truth that never turns.
Love her lover aye sets free
Love and lover one I see.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

HISTORY AS A SCIENCE

There can be no Science on any subject, unless we can determine how many or how much, that is, the quantity.

The tables below are an attempt to make an approximate estimate of important events in history in numbers, percentages and averages, up to 1914.

The author has depended for important events, their periods and divisions upon a recent "Reference History of the World," prepared by leading American professors[1] of history. In counting the events, the author has used the following method: when it is said, "Gela in Sicily is founded by the Rhodians," there are four important events: the mentioning of Sicily, Gela and the Rhodians makes three of them; and the founding, one. When the chronology reads: "Alexander I reigns in Macedonia," there are three important events: the mentioning of Alexander and Macedonia constitutes two, and the reigning one event.

In general, when any city, country, nation, people or other human organization is mentioned, each constitutes one event: their activities when noted, also count each one event. When the birth or death of any person is mentioned, each counts one event. Each time the name of the same person, country or other human organisation is repeated, each counts an event. This in a certain measure constitutes a qualitative, as well as a quantitative estimate because the names most repeated are usually the most eminent.

It is true that events, which great men bring about personally or of which they are the main initiators, are connected closely with human organizations, but the *historical* mention of their names alone and their activities, makes them the predominant factor in the event.

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[1] Albert B. Hart, William S. Furgeson, Charles H. McIlwain, Everett Kimball and David M. Matteson.

On the other hand, when a state, country or other human organization receives historical mention by name alone or through its activities, it constitutes the predominant factor in the event, which is recorded under human-organisation category or division.

Events, as activities, may be designated dynamic, as distinguished from events, as names of persons or human organizations when simply mentioned ; these can be called static. Thus when the chronology reads : "Justinian reigns over the Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire"; the mention of Justinian is one event ; "reigns" is another event, both of which come under great men events, one static, the other dynamic. The mention of the "Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire" comes under the human-organization category or division, and is static. When the chronology reads : "Belisarius attacks Vitiges in Ravenna and takes the City"; there are five events to be recorded. "Belisarius" one (static) ; "attacks," one (dynamic) ; "Vitiges," one (static) ; "Ravenna" one (static) ; "takes the city," one (dynamic). These events belong to great-men events, except "Ravenna" which is recorded under human-organization events and as static.

In counting of events, there might be difference of opinion in certain cases, but this would not materially affect the proportions or percentages. For instance, one person might make more events in a choronological statement, than another person, owing to different methods of counting or point of view ; but if each was faithful to his method, their number of events might differ, but their percentages or proportions remain practically the same.

We have, therefore, taken as our basis, mainly percentages, as given in Table 4, the basic table.

As a further illustration of estimating important events, when in speaking of the American Revolution, the chronology reads : "It is founded on the right of revolution, denies the divine right of kings, establishes a successful democracy and creates a workable federation." These words constitute eight important events : (1) founded, (2) right of revolution, (3) denies, (4) divine right of kings, (5) establishes, (6) successful democracy, (7) creates, (8) a workable federation. The words "founded," "denies," "establishes" and "creates," indicate four civil activities or events, and would be counted in column 2, Table 4, and the other four in column 4, being human-organization events.

As will be seen from the headings of Table 1, we can distinguish three general classes of events, great-men events (columns 1, 2, 3), human-organization events (columns 4, 5, 6) and educational events (column 7). Under great-men events there are three sub-divisions : the mentioning of any personal name (column 1), of any civil activity of a person (column 2), and of any military activity of a person (column 3).

Under human-organization events, exactly similar subdivisions are made (columns 4, 5, 6) as in the great-men events. Where any activity has both civil and military status, it is assigned according to dominating factor.

Table 1 gives a general view of the history of the world measured by the numbers, percentages and averages of important events. The period having the largest percentages as well as greatest number of important events is the Early Modern, extending from 1492 to 1814, showing 4,795 events (column 8). This period occupied only 5 per cent. (322 years) of all the time of history proper (6,413 years) as indicated in column 9 of table, which shows that ancient history occupied 78, Medieval 16, Early Modern 5 and Nineteenth Century only 1 per cent. of historical time proper of the world. Column 10 gives the average number of events per year for each historical period, being 0·6 for ancient, 2·7 for medieval, 14·9 for Early Modern and 24·4 for Nineteenth Century period. Comparing these figures with those in column 9, it will be seen that as the average number of events per year increase,

TABLE 1.

General View of World History according to Numbers, Percentages, Average of Important Events.

	GREAT-MEN.						HUMAN-ORGANIZATIONS.						Educational Activities or Events.		Total Summary of all Events.		Length of time in years.		Average Number of Events per year.
	Men mentioned.		Civil Activities.		Military Activities.		Men mentioned.		Civil Activities.		Military Activities.								
Columns of table.	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10
Periods of History.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Ancient (4500 B. C. to 476 A.D.).	900	27	353	11	238	7	1,312	40	146	4	264	8	106	3	3,319	100	4,976	78	0·6
Medieval (477 A. D. to 1492).	729	26	255	13	233	8	1,119	40	87	3	235	8	54	2	2,812	100	1,015	16	2·7
Early Modern (1492 to 1814).	961	20	439	9	214	4	2,165	46	377	8	393	8	246	5	4,795	100	322	5	14·9
Nineteenth Century (1814 to 1914).	194	8	46	2	30	1	1,335	55	349	14	285	1	205	8	2,444	100	100	1	24·4
Grand totals of events	2,784		1,193		715		5,931		959		1,177		611		13,370		6,413	100	2·0
Percentages of grand totals.		21		9		6		44		7		4		4		100	...		...

their length of time decrease ; that is, as history advances, it becomes much more intensive.

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES.

Under the head of educational activities (column 7) are included literature, art, science, and in general mental products,[1] comprising books, translations, statues, paintings, all discoveries and inventions. Such activities are of the highest order; though they constitute only 4 per cent. of all historical events, they doubtless make up much in quality, what they lack in quantity. Of the four great periods, the Nineteenth Century shows the highest per cent. of educational events, that is 8 per cent., the ancient period 3 per cent., the Medieval period 2 per cent. (the lowest) and the Early Modern period, 5 per cent.

GREAT MEN DECREASING.

That great men have decreased in the Nineteenth Century is evident from column 1, Table 1, which gives the number and percentage of men mentioned inthe four great periods, relative to the number of events in their respective periods. That is, 900 times great men were mentioned in the Ancient Period (column 1), which means 900 events out of the 3,319 total events (column 8) of the period, which is 27 per cent. For the Medieval Period it is 729 or 26 per cent., for the Early Modern Period 961 or 20 per cent. and for the Nineteenth Century 194 or only 8 per cent. and this notwithstanding the great increase of world population from 54 million at the death of Augustus (A.D. 14) to 850 million at the Era of

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[1] See Article (by author) entitled "Mentality of Nation," published in *The Open Court*, August, 1912; also in (Spanish) Archivos de Pedagogia y Ciencias Afines, Mayo de 1912, Buenoa Aires ; also in German in Archiv fuer die gesamte Psychologie, xxxiii Band. 3. und 4 Heft, Leipzig, 1915.

Napoleon (1800 to 1814), to 1,550 million at 1900, as will be seen in Table 3. Yet the Nineteenth Century with its very low number of great men mentioned, has the highest per cent. (8) of educational activities. Great men are not necessarily geniuses, but they are sufficiently prominent to be historical personages. This distinct increase of educational activities in the Nineteenth Century may, to a certain extent, compensate for the relative scarcity of great men. We have said in an other study,[1] that while the peaks have been washing down, the general level in the valleys has been rising; which means the exaltation of the average man.

TABLE 2.

Participation of Historical Periods and Classes of Events in World History.

PERIODS OF HISTORY.	Great-Men Events. 1		Human-Organization Events. 2		All Civil Activities. 3		All Military Activities. 4		Educational Activities. 5		Total Events or Activities. 6	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Ancient History (4500 B. C. to 476 A. D.)	1,491	11	1,722	13	499	4	502	4	106	0·8	3,319	25
Medieval (477 A. D. to 1492).	1,317	10	1,441	10	442	3	468	4	54	0·4	2,812	21
Early Modern (1492 to 1814).	1,614	13	2,935	22	816	6	607	5	246	1·8	4,795	36
Nineteenth Century (1814 to 1914).	270	2	1,969	15	395	3	315	2	205	1·5	2,444	18
Grand Totals ...	4,692	36	8,067	60	2,152	16	1,892	15	611	4	13,370	100
Percentages of grand totals.		36		60		16		15		4		

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[1] "Scots and Scottish Influence in Congress" (by author), published in "Metron," Vol. I, No. 2, University of Padova, Italy, 1920; also in the Historical Society of Illinois, Springfield, Illinois.

Table 2 is derived from Table 4 by combining the three classes of events under great men (column 1) and the three classes under human-organization events in like manner are combined into one. All civil activities are united under one head (column 3) and likewise all military activities (column 4). This summarises and brings out more distinctly all great-men and all human-organization events as such and their combined civil and combined military activities. For convenience we call the combination of the three classes of events under great men , great men events, and likewise the three classes under human organization, human-organization events.

In Table 2 will be found figures showing to what extent the four great periods of history according to classes of events, have participated in world history.

Under great-men events, including their civil and military activities, are given for each period the number of such events and their percentages of the total events (13,370) of world history. Thus in ancient history, there were 1,491 great-men events, which is 11 per cent. of all historical events; in the Medieval period, 10 per cent., Early Modern 13 per cent., the highest, and in the Nineteenth Century only 270 events or 2 per cent., the lowest. As already indicated, this very small per cent. or participation, in world history of great men and all their activities, in the last century, is striking. This is all the more apparent when under human organization events, including their civil and military activities, the Nineteenth Century has 1,969 events or 15 per cent. of all events, which is next to the Early Modern period (the highest), which is 2,935 or 22 per cent. participation in all history. Human-organization events, as a whole (8,067) constitute 60 per cent. of history and great-men events (4,692) 36 per cent. (last line of table).

Under the heads of all civil and all military activities for the four great periods, the percentage of participation in world history is almost the same, except for the Early Modern period where it is 816 events or 6 per cent. under all civil activities and under military activities 607 events or 5 per cent.

The Nineteenth Century shows only 315 military events or 2 per cent., the lowest of all four great periods in the world's military activity. This fact doubtless gave much optimism and made the World War unexpected, if not a surprise to many.

TABLE 3.

The Relation of Population to Important Events of History.

Ancient Period (4500 B.C. to 476 A.D.)	Total Events.	Estimated Population.	Date of Estimate.	No. of Population for each event.	Average events per year.
1. Eastern Nations and Judea (4500 to 700 B.C.)	500	...	...	...	0·1
2. Age of Greeks (700 to 300 B.C.)	1,101	3,000,000	at 432 B.C.[1]	2,724	2·7
3. Age of the Roman Republic (300 to 43 B.C.)	944	...	...	...	3·7
4. Age of the Roman Empire (43 to 4 B.C.)	88	...	...	...	2·2
5. Beginnings of Christian Era (4 B.C. to 76 A.D.)	686	54,000,000	at A.D. 14[1]	28,717	1·4
Totals and averages	Av. 664 3319	57,000,000	...	31,897[3]	0·6
Early Modern Period (1492 to 1814)		Estimated Population of World.			
1. Era of Renaissance and Reformation (1492 to 1549)	687	...	...	...	...
2. Era of Religious Wars (1549 to 1570)	366	...	...	...	...
3. Era of Decline of Spain (1570 to 1604)	419	...	...	...	..
4. Era of Thirty Years War (1604 to 1649)	689	...	...	...	...

Authorities:—

[1] Beloch.

[2] Average of two eras.

[3] Average of two eras; (1) Average of four eras.

Early Modern Period (1492 to 1814).	Total Events.	Estimated Population.	Date of Estimate.	No. of Population for each event.	Average events per year.
5. Era of Louis Fourteenth (1649 to 1689)	403	500,000,000	at 1685[1]	1,240,697	1·0
6. Era of Grand Alliance (1689 to 1714)	412	...	...	...	...
7. Era of Balance of Powers (1714 to 1740)	168	...	...	...	...
8. Era of Frederick the Great (1740 to 1775)	464	...	...	...	...
9. Era of American Revolution (1775 to 1789)	212	640,000,000	at 1810[2]	3,018,867	15·1
10. Era of French Revolution (1789 to 1800)	311	704,000,000	at 1816[3]	2,263,665	28·2
11. Era of Napoleon (1800 to 1814)	664	850,000,600	at 1828[4]	1,280,120	47·4
Totals and averages.	Av. 436 4795	2,694,000,000	...	8,694.339[5]	14·9
Nineteenth Century Period (1814 to 1914)					
1. Holy Alliance Era (1814 to 1830)	447	1,272,000,000	at 1843[6]	2,845,637	27·9
2. Era of European Revolutions (1830 to 1854)	497	1,288,000,000	at 1859[7]	2,591,549	20·7
3. European War Era (1854 to 1872)	577	1,350,000,000	at 1866[8]	2 339,688	32·0
4. Reconstruction of Europe (1872 to 1899)	463	1,377,000,000	at 1872[9]	2,974,082	17·1
5. Preliminaries of War (1899 to 1914)	460	1,550,000,000	at 1900[10]	3,369,565	30·6
Totals and averages	Av. 489 2444	6,837,000,000	...	2,797,463	24·4

[1] Veggus.
[2] Malt-Brun.
[3] Balbi.
[4] Hassel.
[5] Average of four eras.
[6] Berghaus.
[7] Dieterci.
[8] Behm.
[9] Behm and Wagner.
[10] Austin in article on "Population" in Encyclopaedia Americana.

In Table 3 is worked out, as far as practicable, the relation between population of the world and important events in world history, with the exception of the Middle Ages, where an estimate of population, seems very difficult to make, if not impossible.

As to the Early Modern Period, there are only four eras, for which estimates are given; these are based upon the authorities named at the end of the table. The dates at which the estimates were made, do not correspond exactly to the dates of the age or era, to which they are applied, but we have arranged them as near as possible.

On general principles, the number of the population for any historical period, age or era, required to produce (so to speak) an important event, varies inversely as the activities of the period; that is, the smaller the number of the population required to produce an event, the greater the activity of the people of that period. There may be a few exceptions to this general principle, but they are due generally to special conditions. It is true, that the average number of events per year has much weight, where the periods are more equal in duration, but where there is much difference in this respect, this average has less significance.

The most striking feature of the table is, that the Age of the Greeks requires only 2,724 of its population to produce an important event, but this is only for the population of Greece at 432 B.C. and can be compared with the Roman Empire, which at the death of Augustus (A.D. 14) was estimated by Beloch to be 54,000,000. The population of Greece was 3,000,000 of which 1,000,000 were slaves or servants. Compared with the Roman Empire at 14 A.D., at which time the estimate of its population was made, Greece averages only 2,724 population per event while the average for the Roman Empire is 78,717, which is an enormous difference. When we shall consider this question as to modern countries (Table 5), we will find Greece excels them all. New Zealand (Table 5) stands the highest of any modern country requiring 5,932 of its population to produce an important event.

In the next two parts of Table 3, the Early Modern and Nineteenth Century periods, we are enabled to some extent, to consider world population in relation to events in some of the eras or periods. In the Early Modern period, the Era of Louis Fourteenth (1649 to 1689) required 1,240,697 of world population to produce an event, the Era of the American Revolution 3,018,867, of the French Revolution 2,263,665 and the Era of Napoleon 1,280,120 of world population.

In the Nineteenth Century Period, will be found the world population for each of the five divisions, in connection with their number of events. The third division, the European War Era (1854 to 1872) shows 2,339,688 population for an event, which is the lowest, while the last division, the Preliminaries of War (1899 to 1914) requires 3,369,565 population for an event. That is, this Preliminaries of War Period requires (so to speak) the largest number of world population of any period of world history to produce an important event.

In the totals for the Early Modern and Nineteenth Century periods the averages are respectively 1,694,339 and 2,797,463 population per event, that is the four divisions of the Early Modern Period, if taken as representing the whole period, show this grand period to excel greatly the Nineteenth Century in relative activity. In fact, the table as a whole shows, that while in the history of the world, the number of population per event has increased greatly the events of each period have not increased. Moreover, important events in the past had much more difficulty in coming to notice than in modern times. This would seem to suggest that the quality of world activities or events was much higher in past ages. That the number of events for each age, era or period have not only not increased, but rather decreased,

TABLE 4.

Analysis of History of World—Estimated according to Number, Percentages and Averages of Important Events.

Divisions into Periods, Ages, Epochs, Eras, etc.		GREAT MEN.			HUMAN ORGANIZATIONS.			Educational, Literary and Scientific Activities.	Total of Events and Percentages of Totals.		Number of Years.	Average Number of Events per year.
		Names mentioned.	Civil Activities.	Military Activities.	Names mentioned.	Civil Activities.	Military Activities.					
Column.		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		9	10
Ancient Period Earlier times:	(4500 to 476 A. D.) ...	900	953	238	1,312	146	264	106	3,319	25	4,976	0·6
	Percentages ...	27	11	7	40	4	3	3	100		78	...
1. Eastern Nations and Judea	(4500 to 700 B. C.) ...	127	54	32	218	28	26	15	3,500	15	3,800	0·1
	Percentages ...	25	10	6	43	8	5	3	100		76	
2. Age of Greeks	(700 to 300 B. C.) ...	288	90	75	466	48	95	39	1,101	33	400	2·7
	Percentages ...	26	8	7	43	4	9	3	100		8	
3. Age of Roman Republic	(300 to 43 B. C.) ...	265	91	84	353	35	99	17	944	28	257	3·7
	Percentages ...	28	9	9	38	4	10	2	100		5	
4. Age of the Roman Empire	(43 to 4 B. C.) ...	37	10	4	25	2	7	3	88	3	39	2·2
	Percentages ...	42	11	4	30	2	8	3	100		1	
5. Beginnings of the Christian Era	(4 B. C. to 76 A. D.)...	183	108	43	250	33	37	32	686	21	480	1·4
	Percentages ...	27	16	6	36	5	5	5	100.	100	10	

Medieval Period :	(477 A. D. to 1492)	729	355	233	1,119	67	235	54	2,852	21	1,015	2·7
	Percentages	26	13	8	40	3	8	2	100		16	
1. Barbarian Ascendancy in Europe	(477 to 622 A. D.)	48	19	20	44	12	47	5	195	7	145	1·3
	Percentages	25	10	10	23	5	25	2	100		14	
2. Mohammedan Ascendancy	(622 to 771)	41	22	15	58	...	11	1	148	5	149	0·9
	Percentages	28	15	10	39	...	7	1	100		15	
3. Age of Charlemagne	(771 to 845)	29	10	9	34	2	5	1	90	3	74	1·2
	Percentages	32	11	10	38	2	6	1	100		7	
4. Establishment of European States	(845 to 1013)	59	31	17	95	7	11	2	222	8	168	1·3
	Percentages	27	14	8	42	3	5	1	100		17	
5. The Empire and the Pope	(1013 to 1095)	73	38	16	92	7	5	2	233	8	82	2·6
	Percentages	31	16	7	40	3	2	1	100		8	
6. First Epoch of Crusaders	(1095 to 1189)	95	53	21	133	9	23	1	342	13	94	3·6
	Percentages	28	15	6	40	2	7	2	100		9	
7. Second Epoch of Crusaders	(1189 to 1273)	145	70	50	232	15	39	2	553	20	84	6·5
	Percentages	26	13	9	42	3	7	...	160		8	
8. Irruption of Asiatics	(1273 to 1340)	97	49	41	144	8	25	11	366	13	67	5·4
	Percentages	26	11	11	40	2	7	3	100		7	
9. Renaissance Epoch	(1340 to 1455)	72	51	22	196	25	45	18	429	15	115	3·7
	Percentages	17	12	5	46	5	11	4	100		11	
10. Events leading to Foundation of Modern Europe.	(1455 to 1492)	70	21	22	91	2	24	4	234	8	37	6·3
	Percentages	30	9	9	39	1	10	2	100		4	
Early Modern Period :	(1492 to 1814)	961	439	214	2,165	377	393	246	4,795	36	322	14·9
	Percentages	20	9	4	46	8	8	5	100		5	...
1. Era of Renaissance and Reformation	(1492 to 1549)	188	96	48	272	19	37	27	687	14	57	12·0
	Percentages	27	14	7	40	3	5	4	...		18	

Divisions into Periods, Ages, Epochs, Eras, etc.		GREAT MEN.			HUMAD ORGANIZATIONS.			Educational, Literary and Scientific Activities.	Total of Events and Percentages of Totals.	Number of Years.	Average Number of Events per year.
		Names mentioned.	Civil Activities.	Military Activities.	Names mentioned.	Civil Activities.	Military Activities.				
Column.		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
2. Era of Religious Wars	(1549 to 1570) ...	107	34	22	144	22	24	13	366 8	21	17·4
	Percentages ...	29	9	6	40	6	7	3	100	7	
3. Era of Decline in Spain	(1570 to 1604) ...	107	35	27	184	24	20	22	419 9	34	12·3
	Percentages ...	25	8	7	44	6	5	5	100	11	
4. Era of Thirty Years War	(1604 to 1649) ...	145	23	31	302	63	49	46	689 15	45	15·3
	Percentages ...	21	8	4	44	9	7	7	100	14	
5. Era of Louis Fourteenth	(1649 to 1689) ...	51	22	14	202	44	52	18	403 8	40	1·0
	Percentages ...	13	5	3	50	11	13	5	100	12	
6. Era of Grand Alliance	(1689 to 1714) ...	92	55	11	136	26	25	17	412 9	25	16·4
	Percentages ...	22	13	3	46	6	6	4	100	8	
7. Era of Balance of Powers	(1714 to 1740) ...	43	31	1	54	22	11	6	168 3	26	6·4
	Percentages ...	26	18	...	31	14	7	4	100	8	
8. Era of Frederick the Great	(1740 to 1775) ...	92	50	14	199	22	42	45	464 10	35	13·2
	Percentages ...	20	11	3	42	5	9	10	100	11	
9. Era of American Revolution	(1775 to 1789) ...	20	5	5	115	33	21	13	212 4	14	15·1
	Percentages ...	9	2	2	55	16	10	6	100	4	

10. Era of French Revolution	(1789 to 1800)	...	27	11	13	176	33	47	2	311	6	11	28·2
	Percentages	...	9	4	4	56	11	15	1	100		3	
11. Era of Napoleon	(1800 to 1814)	...	89	47	28	331	67	65	37	664	14	14	47·4
	Percentages	...	13	7	4	50	10	10	6	100		4	
Nineteenth Century Period :	(1814 to 1914)	...	194	46	30	1,335	349	285	205	2,444	18	100	24·0
	Percentages	...	8	2	1	56	14	12	8	100		1	
1. Holy Alliance Era	(1814 to 1830)	...	40	2	2	234	34	43	39	447	18	16	27·9
	Percentages	...	9	2	...	52	10	19	9	100		16	
2. Era of European Revolutions	(1830 to 1854)	...	76	7	4	216	67	36	91	197	20	24	20·7
	Percentages	...	15	2	1	43	14	7	18	100		23	
3. European War Era	(1854 to 1872)	...	39	14	22	320	79	79	24	577	24	18	32·0
	Percentages	...	7	3	4	54	14	14	4	100		19	
4. Reconstruction of Europe	(1872 to 1899)	...	28	10	...	261	51	69	44	463	19	27	17·1
	Percentages	...	6	2	...	56	11	15	10	100		28	
5. Preliminaries of War	(1899 to 1914)	...	11	10	2	304	52	53	7	460	19	15	30·6
	Percentages	...	3	2	...	65	15	13	2	...		14	
	Grand Totals	...	2,784	1,193	715	5,931	969	1,177	611	13,370	100	6,413	2·0
	Percentages of Grand Totals	...	21	9	6	44	7	9	4	100		100	

is indicated by taking the average for all the divisions of the four great periods of history. Thus dividing the totals by number of divisions the average number of events for the Ancient Period is 664, for the Medieval Period is 281, for the Early Modern Powers 436, and for the Nineteenth Century Period 489. The Medieval Period is distinctly lowest and the Ancient Period distinctly the highest.

This general tendency toward decrease of events, though quite variable from period to period, is confirmatory of other results of this study, reached from various points of view.

General Analysis of World History.

Table 4 analyses in detail the history of the world according to number, percentages and averages. Each of the four great historical periods are subdivided into various epochs, giving the numbers and percentages of each, for the seven different classes of events. Table 4 is the foundation table upon which the other tables are based.

Taking first a general glance at Table 4, we note the relative increase in average number of events per year (column (10), as already mentioned, under Table 1, but it stands out here more in detail, that is for the 31 subdivisions or periods. In running down column 10, it will be seen, that the average number of events per year, or intensity to a certain degree of participation in the world's history, is not regular but quite variable, yet there is a general tendency to increase after the Medieval Period, beginning with the Early Modern. In the Medieval Period, the two highest averages of events per year are 6·5 for the Second Epoch to the Crusades, lasting 84 years (1189 to 1273), and 6·3 for the period of events leading to the Foundation of Europe, lasting 37 years (1455 to 1492). This last period of the Medieval is, however, more intensive in its Medieval participation, though with two-tenths lower average, for it takes only 37 years (4 per cent.), that is less than half the time required (84 years) for the Second Epoch of the Crusade, which is 8 per cent. of Medieval time.

The greatest average number of events per year is 47·4 in the Era of Napoleon, lasting only 14 years (1800 to 1814). It might be thought, that the shortness of this period (14 years) was the main reason for so high an average, but this is modified by the fact, that the Napoleonic Era produced 664 events, the third largest number in the Early Modern period. The Era of the Thirty Years War produced 689, the largest number of events, and the Era of Renaissance and Reformation 687, not many more than the Era of Napoleon. But the Era of the Thirty Years War lasted 45 years and that of the Renaissance and Reformation 57 years.

In our estimate to follow of different countries (Table 5), a number of European Nations date their beginning from 1648, that is, from the Westphalian Peace Treaty at the end of the Thirty Years War. The author has shown in another study how this treaty ending the War, at the same time, caused all religious wars to cease.[1]

The average of events per year for the Nineteenth Century Period (1814 to 1914) is 24·4, the highest of all the four great periods. While the five subdivisions of this period are relatively short, yet their number of events are relatively large, all being between four and five hundred, except the European War Era (1854 to 1872), which has 577 events, also averaging 32·0 events per year, the next to the highest (Era of Napoleon, 47·4) in all history. In general, it will be seen that those subdivisions of the four grand periods, which are noted for war, have a high annual average of events. Thus the Era of Napoleon averages 47·4, the European War Era (1854 to 1872), 32·0, the Era of the French Revolution 22·2, the Era of Religious Wars (1549 to 1570) 17·4, the Era of Thirty Years War (1604 to 1649), 15·3 and the Era of the American Revolution (1775 to 1789), 15·1 average of events per year.

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[1] Fundamental Peace Ideas including the Westphalian Treaty (by author) published by the United States Senate in Congressional Record for July 1, 1919; also in Spanish in Nuestro Tiempo, Punio, 1919, Madrid, also in Italian, in Rivista de Italia, 1919, Vol. 1, Fasc. IV, Milano, also in Reformed Church Review, Oct. 1919, also in Croatian, in Narodni List, June 8, 1919, N. Y. City.

Ancient History.

After this general survey of Table 4, we will examine briefly, but more in detail, the four great periods of history.

The Ancient period has five divisions of very unequal length of time. The first division or Eastern Nations and Judea occupies 3,890 years (4500 B. C. to 700 B. C.) or 76 per cent. of the time of the whole period, while the age of the Roman Empire has only 39 years or 1 per cent. of ancient time (column 9). This division has the lowest average (0·1) of any division of any period (column 10) due to its long duration. It has also a relatively low total number of events, 500, or 15 per cent. of all the events of the ancient period (column 8).

The Greek Age (780 to 300 B. C.) has by far the largest number of total events, 1,101 or 33 per cent. not only for ancient but for all history; yet its average number of events per year (2·7) is less than that of the Roman Republic, which is 3·7 (column 10), probably due to the fact that the Greek Age is 143 years older than the Roman Republic, occupying 3 per cent. more of ancient time (column 9).

The Roman Republic excels all other periods of ancient history in military activities 9 per cent. under great men (column 3), and 10 per cent. under human organization (column 6), and stands next to the Greek Age in total number of events (column 8). As it had a larger population than Greece, it should normally have produced a greater number of important events, but as Greece excels the Roman Republic in events, it indicates a general superiority, requiring less population to produce an event.

The Age of the Roman Empire (43 B. C. to 4 B. C.) is a very short one for Ancient History, occupying 39 years only. It produced only 88 important events, only 3 per cent. of the Ancient Period (column 8). The Roman Empire has the largest percentage of great men mentioned (column 1) 42 per cent. and a low percentage of military activities, indicating a relatively peaceful time, being the Golden Age of Latin Literature.

The period of Beginnings of the Christian Era (4 B. C. to 476 A. D.) is a long one of 480 years, producing 636 events (column 8) or 21 per cent. of Ancient History events. This period shows a low percentage of military activities and a high percentage of civil activities.

Medieval Period.

Considering the Medieval Period in its ten subdivisions, we note that the period of Barbarian Ascendancy in Europe (477 to 622) has very high percentages. of military activities, 10 per cent. under great-men (column 3) and 25 per cent. under human-organization (column 6), making 35 per cent. which is double that of any of the other divisions. This division has also a low average (1·3) of number of events per year (column 10).

The second division, the Mohammedan Ascendancy, shows the lowest average (0·9) number of events per year; it also has a low percentage (5) of total events (column 8), though its percentage (15) of length of time is high, being 149 years (column 9). The idea here is that a long period has more opportunity to produce events, but if it fails in this respect and its average events per year be low, this indicates slowness of advance or lack of activities.

The Age of Charlemagne is highest in names of great men mentioned, which is 32 per cent. (column 1); its military activities are higher than its civil (columns 2, 3, 5 and 6), being 16 and 13 per cent. respectively. It also has the lowest number of total events, 90 or 3 per cent. (column 8) and an average number of events per year of 1·2 (column 10) which is next to the lowest for the Medieval Period.

The fourth division of Establishment of European States (845 to 1013) is high in percentage of human organizations mentioned, which is 42 (column 4) and low in average number of events per year, which is 1·3 (column 10).

The fifth division, that of Empire and Pope (1013 to 1095), shows the highest percentage (16) of civil activities (column 2) under great men mentioned, and the lowest percentage of total military activities (columns 3 and 6), that is 9 per cent.; also the highest percentage of all great-men events combined, which is 54 (columns 1, 2, 3) is found here.

The Second Epoch of the Crusaders has the highest percentage (20) of total events (columns, and the highest average of events per year, which is 6·5 (column 10), but a negligible number of educational events, marked blank (column 7).

The division for Irruption of Asiatics (1273 to 1340) has a high percentage of all military events (columns 3 and 6) which is 18 per cent. and a high average of events per year, which is 5·4 (column 10).

The Renaissance Epoch (1340 to 1455) shows the highest percentage of educational events (4) and the highest percentage of names mentioned of human organizations (column 4), that is 46 per cent.

Early Modern Period.

In the Early Modern Period the first division, or Era of Renaissance and Reformation (1492 to 1549), has the highest percentage (48) of all great-men events combined (columns 1, 2, 3) and a high percentage (14) of total events (column 8).

The Era of Religious Wars (1549 to 1570) is lowest of all the eleven divisions of the Early Modern Period in educational activities, 3 per cent., except the Era of the French Revolution, which is only 1 per cent. (column 7), but it is high in average number of events per year, that is, 17·4 (column 10).

The Era of Thirty Years War (1604 to 1649) has a low percentage (33) of great-men events and the highest percentage of total events (column 8), that is, 15 per cent.

The Era of Louis Fourteenth (1649 to 1689) has a low percentage (13) of names of great men mentioned (column 1) and the lowest average of events, that is, only 1·0 (column 10), but a relatively high percentage (50) of names of human organizations mentioned (column 4).

The Era of the Grand Alliance (1689 to 1714) has a low percentege (9) of total military events (columns 3 and 6 combined), but a high average (16·4) of events per year, and a high percentage (46) of names mentioned of human organizations (column 4).

The Era of Balance of Powers (1714 to 1740), shows the lowest percentage (7) of total military events, also the lowest percentage (31) of human organizations mentioned (column 4), also the lowest percentage (3) of total events.

The Era of Frederick the Great (1740 to 1775) gives the highest percentage by 10 of educational activities.

The Era of the American Revolution (1775 to 1789) is one of the shortest periods of the Early Modern and has, like the French Revolution, the lowest percentage (9) of names of great men mentioned (column 1), but a relatively high percentage (6) of educational activities (column 7).

The Era of the French Revolution (1789 to 1800) is only 11 years, and the shortest period of not only the Early Modern but of all history, that is, of the 31 divisions of this table. It has next to the highest (28·2) average events per year, and the highest percentage 82 of total human-organization events (columns 4, 5, and 6 combined), but the lowest percentage (1) in educational activities (column 7).

The Era of Napoleon (1800 to 1814) is also a very short period, the second shortest of all history. It has also by far the highest average of total events per year (47·4) of all periods or divisions of all history. Its number of total events, 664 or 14 per cent. is very high for such a short period, indicating an intensity of activity, due to a military genius.

Nineteenth Century Period.

This is the shortest of the four grand periods of history, lasting 100 years (1814 to 1914). The first division or Holy Alliance Era (1814 to 1830) has next to the lowest percentage (10) of total military activities (columns 3 and 6 combined).

The Era of European Revolutions (1830 to 1854) has the highest percentage by far (15) of great men's names mentioned (column 1), and the lowest percentage (43) of human organizations mentioned (column 4). It has the highest percentage (18) by far of educational activities, not only of Nineteenth Century, but of all history periods.

The European War Era (1854 to 1872) stands highest (24 per cent.) in number of total events (column 8) and in average of events per year (32·0) and excels all periods or divisions of all history except the Era of Napoleon.

The division of Reconstruction of Europe (1872 to 1899) shows the highest percentage (10) of educational activities, except the Era of European Revolutions.

The division for Preliminaries of War (1899 to 1914) gives an extraordinarily low percentage (only 5) of all great-men events (columns 1, 2, 3 combined) and an extraordinarily high percentage (93) of total human-organization events (columns 4, 5, 6 combined) indicating a tendency to compensate for scarcity of great men, by increase in human organizations.

TABLE 5.

Estimate of Important Events in Different Countries of the World.

Countries.	GREAT MEN.			HUMAN ORGANIZATION.			Summary of all Activities and Events.	Age of Country in years.	Average number of events per year.	Density of population.	Number of population per important event (about 1914).
	Names mentioned.	Civic Activities.	Military Activities.	Names mentioned.	Civic Activities.	Military Activities.					
Column number.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	%	%	%	%	%	%					
United States (1492-1914) ...	8	5	2	64	17	4	12,267	422	29·06	30·9	7·497
Canada (1497-1914) ...	7	6	1	62	21	3	1,435	417	3·44	1·93	5·022
Great Britain (1649-1914) ...	13	10	1	51	21	4	4,246	265	16·02	379·1	10·719
Sweden (1648-1914) ...	15	8	3	55	15	4	433	266	1·62	33·3	12·753
France (1648-1914) ...	13	0	3	55	14	6	3,600	266	13·53	189·5	11·000
Germany (1648-1914) ...	9	8	1	64	14	4	1,741	266	6·54	310·5	36·215
Austria (1648-1914) ...	13	9	3	53	14	8	1,256	266	4·75	246·5	22·748
Italy (1648-1914) ...	10	11	2	57	15	5	628	266	2·36	326·5	56·668
Spain (1648-1914) ...	17	12	3	50	12	6	1,138	266	4·27	105·2	17·531
Belgium (1468-1914) ...	5	6	...	57	29	3	272	466	0·58	652·	27·293
Switzerland (1648-1913) ...	1	7	0	64	24	4	314	265	1·18	234·8	11·917
Argentina (1516-1914) ...	12	16	1	46	17	8	254	398	0·63	6·83	31·044
Brazil (1500-1914) ...	14	15	1	49	17	4	233	414	0.56	5·4	105·658
Bolivia (1538-1914) ...	9	6	2	54	23	6	90	375	0·24	3·38	32·110
New Zealand (1642-1914)	4	4	0	59	26	5	170	272	0·60	9·73	5·982
Australia (1642-1914) ...	4	4	0	66	25	1	708	309	2·29	1·49	6·278
South Africa (1487-1914) ...	4	2	1	68	20	5	588	427	1·37	12·62	10·158
India (1498-1914) ...	10	7	2	56	18	7	1,124	416	2·70	175·	280·388
Japan (1542-1914) ...	6	6	1	59	22	6	1,158	372	3·11	207·9	46·819

Table 5 presents an estimate of important events in some of the leading countries of the world, in percentages (columns 1-6), in total numbers (column 7) and in averages (column 9). In column 11 is given for each country the number of population near the year 1914, which to some extent may indicate the importance and activity of a country. The events considered important in a country may not be so considered from a world point of view, in fact a large number of such events are never mentioned in world history.

If we estimate the countries in Table 5 according to number of population per important event (column 11), the following is their ranking order: (1) Canada; (2) New Zealand; (3) Australia; (4) United States; (5) South Africa Union; (6) Great Britain; (7) France; (8) Switzerland; (9) Sweden; (10) Spain, and so on to India, which requires 280,388 of her population to produce one important event, while the United States, for example, only requires 7,497 of her population for each event.

If we estimate countries according to average number of events per year (column 9), the following is their ranking order: (1) United States; (2) Great Britain; (3) France; (4) Germany; (5) Austria; (6) Spain; (7) Canada; (8) Japan; (9) India, and (10) Australia, and so on down to Bolivia which has an average of only 0·24 events per year. It will be noted that the United States ranks first according to average number of events per year and fourth according to population required for the production of an important event. Great Britain also ranks second according to one standard and sixth according to the other. In general, the English-speaking nations lead. There appears to be no apparent relation of density of population (column 10) to either standard of population per important event (column 11) or average number of events per year (column 9).

Beginning with column 1 (Table 5), it appears that the

English-speaking nations (except Great Britain) rank low in their great men mentioned. This may be interpreted, that conspicuously great men are not so numerous, relatively, but that the general level of the people is higher, tending to show a more democratic condition.

Comparing the percentages for civil and military activities of great men (columns 2 and 3), it will be seen that their civil activities are much greater than their military. France, Sweden, Austria and Spain have three per cent. for military activities. All other countries in table are lower. The highest percentages for civil activities of great men, are 16 for Argentina, 15 for Brazil, 12 for Spain, 11 for Italy and 10 for Great Britain; in general, it is the Latin nations which show greater relative civil activities on the part of their distinguished men. As to military activities of their great men, France, Austria, Spain and Sweden show each 3 per cent. which is the highest, which might be interpreted as a manifestation of more military spirit among their great men. These countries (except Sweden) have very high percentages for their military activities or human organisations (column 6), Austria 8, France and Spain each 6 per cent., which is confirmatory of their high percentages for great-men military activities (column 3).

A summary or total of all the events or activities for each country is given in column 7, which is used as a basis for working out the average number of events per year (column 9) and number of population for each event (column 11).

It is apparent from columns 2 and 5 that civil activities or events are very much greater in number than military activities or events (columns 3 and 6). In the United States it is 22 per cent. civil to 6 per cent. military, in Great Britain, it is 31 to 5 per cent. In Austria the percentage for military activities is 11 which is the highest; in France it is 9 per cent. which is high. In Belgium military activities are only

3 per cent.; in Switzerland it is 4 per cent. These are the lowest for European countries. This may be due to the fact that these two countries were made neutral territory by the powers.

It is interesting to note in Table 5 (column 8) the historical ages of countries. Belgium is 446 years old, then in order of age come South Africa 427 years; United States 422 years; Canada 417; India 416; Brazil 414; Argentina 398; Bolivia 375; Japan 372, down to Great Britain and Switzerland the youngest which are 265 years of age.

ARTHUR MACDONALD

ALIGARH MEMORIES[1]

We have listened to Mr. Wajid Ali's paper with intense interest. While it was being read—often and often rang in my ears the beautiful line of Virgil—*O ! Mihi Præteritos referat Si Jupiter Annos*—yes ! Virgil's prayer will doubtless be echoed by all, for surely, surely, what would we not give to get back—were it even for a brief season—our vanished school and college days—when hope was young, and life full of radiant promises.

Sweet, simple, unstained and unspotted by the world, were those days—the days of genuine friendship, untarnished love. There were no shadows to mar our joys—no ulterior ends to serve—no axe to grind—no conflicting interests to watch and guard against—no sundering, demoralizing politics to contaminate—no hostility opf nrpose to wreck or rend the harmony of a thrice blessed existence.

It is these memories which make us—when plunged into the vortex of ugly realities—fondly look back to those delectable times—to encircle them with romance—to cherish them—to idealize them.

Never to the end of my days shall I forget the wrench—so fierce and so agonizing—that I felt when leaving my own University—the God-fearing and God-sustained University of Oxford. With eyes bedimmed with tears, I sighed forth farewell to that beautiful city of glorious traditions, of radiating culture, of far-scattering light, of ever-broadening renown. Yes ! and though years have passed, Oxford, to-day, remains as dear to me, as she has ever been—supreme, without a rival, cheering me in my efforts, supporting me in my disappointments, whispering ever and anon into my ears: *Dominus illuminatio mea.*

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[1] Speech delivered on the 10th of December, 1925, at the Muslim Institute

Who can measure the influence which a University exercises over the mind?—a University such as Oxford or Cambridge—full of historic associations—scarred with wounds sustained in the Battle for Freedom—resting for support on the most High—defiant of tyranny—contemptuous of the sordid ambitions of man

But if we have no Oxford or Cambridge here, we have, thanks to Sir Syed, the Aligarh College—now the Aligarh University—steadily working its way to scholastic glory and renown.

It is looming larger and yet larger on the intellectual horizon of India. And what does this University stand for? To be sure, for the *unity* of *Muslim culture*. To it flock students from all parts of India, and thence, at the end of their academical career, they go forth into their respective provinces—emissaries of the catholicity and unity of Islam—rid of the provincial note—impressed with the stamp of a liberal and liberalizing culture. Aligarh unifies Islam—vitalizes it—makes it into a living, assertive, combative, progressive force.

No one who has not been there can realize its enthralling power—its vivifying influence.

Many years ago I was the guest of Nawab Mohsan-ul-Mulk at an Old Boys' dinner there. The memory of the evening is unforgettable. Many political and ecclesiastical speakers have I heard in Europe, but never one with the fire and fervour and force of the late Nawab. The crowded hall lay lulled by the music of his eloquence. Period after period of impassioned eloquence flowed with natural, easy effusion, and the richness of his thought was matched by the sweetness of its diction. For full thirty minutes we sat entranced, spell-bound.

But if the Nawab's eloquence was surpassingly beautiful, the crowded hall filled me with pleasure and pride. There—there was the cream and flower of Muslim manhood—astir with one common purpose, aflame with one common mission—to restore the glory of Islam. After dinner—it was past midnight—I visited the graves of Sir Syed and his illustrious son Mahmud.

It was a perfect night. The sky was studded with stars—the moon shone in exquisite splendour—the breeze gently swayed to and fro—the stillness around was almost funeral in its solemnity—everything was calculated to impress the mind—to fill it with awe.

I stood there, mute and motionless. There lay the man—under the starry canopy—amid poetical surroundings—the stars shining overhead, and the moon shedding its gentle beams below—with the college buildings around him—proclaiming his services and perpetuating his memory.

Of immortal kinship—Sir Syed's example is an example to hearten us, and his gift—a trust—one to be enriched and transmitted to generations still unborn.

The Muslim Institute serves a useful purpose.

Not only does it encourage and stimulate literary taste, but it helps us—of a past and fading generation—to come into contact with those for whom the sun of life is still climbing to its meridian, and in whose keeping rests the future of the Muslim Community.

S. Khuda Bukhsh

ACCOUNT OF WORK OF Dr. SAHAYRAM BOSE[1]

On arriving at Paris in November 1923, I went to the Sorbonne (University of Paris), where I met Prof. P. A. Dangeard, the Head Professor of Botany, who in fact was the first among the pioneer workers to trace the sexuality in Basidiomycetes. Here I was given every facility to carry on the cytological study of Polyporaceæ with his constant help and encouragement at every step. I was able to get practically all the stages of nuclear fusion and division in the basidia. The systematic study of Polypores I carried on at the Mycological Herbarium of the Jardin des Plantes with the kind assistance of Dr. N. Patouillard, one of the leading Systematic Mycologists of Europe. Here I met an enthusiastic band of fungus-workers, who make a regular survey of local fungus flora by various excursions to the forests all round Paris. I was very cordially received by them, and I used to accompany them regularly at all their fungus forays. These field studies were of great help to me in picking up a good knowledge of French Polypores in course of a short time. Curious specimens were often exhibited at the meetings of the Mycological Society, where I had the opportunity of discussing with various specialists. I met a number of amateurs whose chief hobby is a critical study of local fungi, and in suburbs they have a number of field clubs and natural history clubs, where they create an interest amongst lay-people by periodic exhibitions and demonstrations, etc., and by publication of coloured charts.

While in Paris, I worked for sometime also in the Mycological Laboratory of "Researches Viticoles" of the Institute National Agronome de Paris, where Prof. Viala has a large number of pure cultures, in several large flasks, of the hard fungus *Fomes ignarius* causing disease of the Vine. Here I was able to carry on successfully artificial cultures of my Polypores with the kind assistance of Profs. Viala and Marsais. The laboratory was nicely equipped for culture work with a culture-room in the under-ground cellar. Utmost cordiality was shown to me, and they took a great deal of interest in my culture work.

For about a fortnight I was away from Paris in a small village in the centre of France (St. Priest en Murat par Montmarault-Allier) to work on the anatomy of Polypores with Rev. Abbé Bourdot. Rev. Bourdot is a clergyman in charge of the village church ; he has done a wonderful amount of serious study of local fungi. Those who have not had the privilege of visiting Rev. Bourdot, can hardly form an adequate idea of the seriousness of the work he is doing, and all this, single-handed with no present costly museum and laboratory equipments. Rev. Bourdot is an old bachelor of about seventy years of age, intensely religious; all his spare time he devotes to the anatomical study of fungi, and he does not work for fame or reward, working, as it is, in an obscure corner of the country. Really splendid work is done by such people. The results of his anatomical study he is bringing out in series in several issues of the Bulletin Société Mycologique de France. They do not consist merely of a catalogue of the local flora, as is done by some amateur Botanists, but they involve serious microscopic study coupled with minute observations. His is a glowing example of what a large amount of work can be done with a minimum expenditure, strong determination carrying away all temporary obstacles in the long run. I can never forget the most profitable time I spent in his company.

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[1] Dr. Sahayram Bose was appointed Sir Rashbehari Ghose Travelling Fellow in Science for 1923-24.

I met Dr. Guilliermond, one of the eminent Cytologists of the day, Professor of Botany at the P. C. N. of the University of Paris, who has worked on the "Mitochondria" in all kinds of cells—animal and vegetable. I availed myself of the opportunity of working in his laboratory to acquire his technique of bringing out mitochondria in the basidia of Polypores, and with his kind help I was able to prepare slides showing mitochondria in the sporophores of Polypores.

One day I was invited to the Mycological Laboratory of Dr. Lutz, Professor at the Ecole de Pharmacie Paris, and was very kindly shown his methods of pure cultures of some common wood-destroying fungi; he was studying the particular changes produced within the wood as the results of fungal attack.

Dr. Foex, the Director of the "Végétale Pathologie" Station, requested me to give an account of the distribution and biology of Bengal Polypores at a meeting of the Société de Pathologie Végétale de France presided over by Prof. P. A. Dangeard. The paper was well-received by the French Mycologists and has since been published in Fasc. II of the Bulletin de la Société Pathologie Végétale, 1924 (November), pp. 134-149. I was subsequently elected a member of the Société Pathologie Végétale de France and the Société Botanique de France.

I was very anxious to visit the mushroom industries in "caves" round Paris and to work there for sometime to study the details of the commercial method. There was some considerable difficulty in the beginning as none of the owners of the industries were willing to disclose their trade secrets to a foreigner; thrice I was refused permission but finally I found a Mycologist, who had a friend owning a mushroom industry in the vicinity of Paris; the latter gentleman very kindly took me over to his factory and showed me the details of the method. I was surprised to find what a large amount of output came out daily from his fields, although he said that his was a small factory, and that there were a large number of much bigger ones in neighbouring caves. They were utilising the exhausted limestone quarries as their mushroom factories, that is why they term it "cave culture" of mushrooms.

Leaving Paris, I went to London, where I worked for sometime in the Botanical Laboratory of Professors Farmer and Blackman of the Imperial College of Science. I attended the Imperial Botanical Conference, where I had the opportunity of meeting many celebrated Botanists assembled from all parts of the British Empire and of securing their friendship. I took part in various excursions, held in connection with the Conference, to well-known Botanical Gardens and Botanical Institutes and Laboratories, and exhibited some large and peculiar specimens of Bengal Polyporaceæ. I also met some of the British Botanists, who had just retired from the Indian Service, *viz.*, Lt.-Col. A. T. Gage, Mr. R. S. Hole of Dehra Dun, Mr. C. E. C. Fischer of Madras, Dr. C. A. Barber of Coimbatore, and others.

I was also given every facility to go through the splendid collection of Polyporaceæ at the Mycological Herbarium of the Kew Gardens in charge of Miss E. M. Wakefield and of the British Museum Natural History Section in charge of Mr. J. Ramsbotham and I had identified some of my difficult specimens of Polyporaceæ which I carried with me.

During my stay, the Imperial Mycological Conference, organised by Dr. E. J. Butler, the Director, Imperial Bureau of Mycology, was held in London in the Imperial College of Science, and I was invited to it by Dr. Butler. At one of its sittings Dr. Butler made reference to my work in connection with the Bengal Fungi, wherein I have described *Fomes lignosus* as collected for the first time from Sunderbuns and Darjeeling forests, whereas Dr. Butler was under the impression that *Fomes lignosus* does not occur in India and was trying to get an enactment to prevent its importation into India, *Fomes lignosus* being highly destructive to tea-bushes and as such an object of dread to tea-growers. The plant pathology section of the Wembley Exhibition was highly instructive, and Dr. Butler contributed a large measure to its success.

For sometime I worked at the Botany School of Cambridge. The Mycological Laboratory is in charge of Mr. F. T. Brooks, and I was much interested in his methods of inoculation of plum trees with spores and the mycelium of *Stereum purpureum*, causing silver-leaf disease in the course of about two months and ultimately killing the trees. I had the opportunity of discussing with him the methods of spore-culture of hard fungi. Mr. Brooks had worked in Singapur for about a year and therefore has some knowledge of tropical fungi. He showed me his recently erected glass-house in the field where he is carrying his inoculation experiments on plants under controlled conditions. I joined an excursion-party led by Mr. Brooks and other members of the British Mycological Society. I was glad to meet Prof. A. C. Seward, F.R.S., Dr. F. F. Blackman, F.R.S., Dr. J. C. Willis, F.R.S. (late of Ceylon) and Dr. Agnes Arber and to make their personal acquaintance. Here also I met my old friend Dr. H. G. Carter, late of the Indian Museum, now the Director of the Cambridge Botanical Garden, doing very useful work in a much purer scientific atmosphere.

From Cambridge I went to the Edinburgh Royal Botanic Gardens, where Prof. William Wright Smith received me very warmly and showed me over the beautiful gardens, the attached laboratories, museums and herbaria. Prof. W. W. Smith was formerly in the Shibpur Botanic Gardens as Curator about fifteen years ago and now he occupies the exalted position of late Sir Isaac Bailey Balfour, F.R.S., the Regius Keeper. He is an exceedingly fine man and a very keen worker. Here Dr. Malcolm Wilson, the Mycologist of the Edinburgh University, kindly showed me the destructive effect of some parasitic Polypores on Conifers and broad-leaved trees.

Leaving London, I started for Berlin. On the way I broke journey at Utrecht in Holland and visited Mlle Westerdijk's Laboratory at Baarn —the central Bureau Voor Schimmelcultures te Baarn. Here is the biggest store-house of pure-cultures of fungi in Europe, from which cultures of fungi can be bought or exchanged with any part of the world. Miss Westerdijk is a talented lady well-informed on mycological matters. I was very glad to get the details of the culture-media from her and also noted her interesting inoculation experiments of *Stereum purpureum* on very young trees of plum, pear, and apples.

From Utrecht I went to the Mycological Laboratory of Professor Kluyon at the Technical University of Delft near Hague, where I was much interested in Professor's cultures of some Polypores from their spores. Professor Kluyon had spent sometime in Java and India before.

Reaching Berlin I at once joined the annual conference of the Deutsche Botanische Gesellschaft, where I had the privilege of meeting many distinguished German Botanists assembled from all parts of Germany and took part in its excursions to the famous Botanical Institutes and Gartens. Subsequently I was elected a member of the Dewtsche Botanische Gesellschaft.

I began my work in the Pflanzenphysiologische Institut, Dahlem, Berlin, with Prof. Hans Kniep on monosporous cultures of Polypores to study their homothallism and heterothallism; Prof. Kniep has specialised in monosporous cultures and his suggestions were of great help to me in acquiring the difficult technique. Prof. Kniep was formerly at Würzburg, at present he is in Berlin as the Director of the Institute in place of Prof. Haberlandt, who is on leave on account of failing health. Prof. Kniep was always anxious to help me at every step, and I always remember with gratefulness the very profitable time I spent in his Laboratory. I also worked at the Mycological Herbarium of the Botanische Garten, Dahlem, Berlin. What a wonderful herbarium and museum Prof. Engler has got together! Nowhere have I met such a well-planned Botanical garden, highly useful to Botany students, the plants being grouped according to their Associations. Everywhere one meets the characteristic German thoroughness. I was very glad to make the personal acquaintance of Prof. A. Engler, the leading Systematist of the day, and to exchange views on the importance of anatomy in classification and on the geographical distribution of fungi. He is an old man over seventy, but is still working hard in his room and attending to his numerous valuable publications.

Leaving Berlin on my way home, I stopped at Zürich for a few days and visited the Zürich University Botanical Garten and attached Botanical Laboratory and Museum, went through the splendid collection of Polypores in the Forest-Pathological Museum of the Technishe Hochschule with the kind assistance of Prof. Schröeter. Professor Rübel of the Plant-Geography Institute kindly showed me some useful instruments devised by him in the study of Plant-geography. Dr. E. Gauman, the Plant-pathologist of the Agricultural Institute, kindly accompanied me on a whole-day excursion to the Zürich Pre-Alps, and with his kind help I was able to collect some specimens of Polypores growing at different heights and I obtained a general view of the Alpine flora of the locality. I also met a number of Alpine Botanists who have made a special study of the Alpine flora; the University Museum also contains a set of specimens fully representative of the Alpine flora.

In all the Laboratories and Museums of Europe I was taken as a guest and marked cordiality was shown to me everywhere.

On my return I have been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

S. R. BOSE

CO-OPERATION IN AGRICULTURE AND COTTAGE INDUSTRIES[1]

The importance of application of co-operative methods in agriculture is now widely recognised all over the world. It has proved to be a boon of inestimable value to countries like Ireland, Denmark, Holland, the United States of America, etc. It has not only helped to advance the material prosperity of the people of these countries but has also exercised a healthy and elevating influence on their social and political life.

So far as India is concerned, the movement, I am glad to say, has taken root and I do believe that it is one of the best means available for improving the economic life of the people, although the conditions here are not as favourable for its rapid growth as those prevailing in Europe and America. In India, it is still confined mainly to banking business, *i.e.*, granting loans on easy terms to people engaged in agriculture and in cottage-industries. Even as such, it has been instrumental in saving many people from ruin by freeing them from the iron grip of the greedy *mahajans* and has helped others to attain to a state of ease and plenty, thus changing the whole outlook of their life. Considering the unfavourable surroundings, the experiment has proved to be an astonishing success, there being now over 10,000 Co-operative Credit Societies in this province.

But the operation of the co-operative system should not be confined to banking business only. It should be extended to every department in the economic and domestic life of the people. Agriculture, cottage-industries, education, sanitation, supply of the necessaries of life, etc., etc., should all come under its operation. By co-operation, improvement on modern and scientific lines could be introduced into every one of these. The supply of good seeds, manure and agricultural implements, of yarns and improved patterns of looms, sale of agricultural products, starting of dairies and poultries, are some of the important concerns in the economic life of the people which could be advanced if worked on co-operative lines. Earnest effort should, therefore, be made to bring them as fully as possible under the operation of the co-operative system.

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[1] Read at the Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition at Faridpur in January, 1926.

Co-operation has exercised a beneficent influence on some of the important problems of sanitation in Bengal. The operations of the Central Co-operative Anti-malaria Society may be cited as an instance to show what co-operation can do in successfully combating diseases which are sapping the vitality of the nation. Although the sphere of its operation is very limited owing to dearth of funds and workers, this Society has helped within the short period of its existence in the formation of about 600 Anti-malaria societies on co-operative basis in the different villages of Bengal for fighting against Malaria and Kala-azar; the record of work of some of these societies is very encouraging and hopeful and has surpassed the expectations of its promoters. The Society has been able to enlist the sympathy and active co-operation of Government in its good work.

The greatest value of co-operation lies in the help it gives to the formation of character. It teaches people thrift, industry and honesty; it engenders self-help, self-reliance and self-respect; it inculcates good habits and a sense of duty and responsibility in the individual, and a desire to see these good qualities developed in other people who are associated with him in co-operative undertakings. In fact, it exerts a most elevating influence on individual as well as communal life and is an important factor in the social elevation of the people. There is every hope that this beneficent institution will go a great way to the restoration of our old self-contained village communities which contributed materially to the peace, prosperity and happiness of the village people.

The value of co-operation in Agriculture and Cottage-industries may advantageously be considered under the following heads:—

(*a*) Supply of seeds, manures and implements.

(*b*) Sale of agricultural produce.

(*c*) Co-operative irrigation.

(*d*) Organisation of dairies, improvement of cattle and the growing of fodder crops.

(*e*) Organisation of poultry farms.

(*f*) Insurance of cattle.

(*g*) Supply of yarns, looms, and arrangements for the training of artisans.

(*h*) Sale of manufactured goods.

(*i*) Sanitation.

(*j*) Primary education.

(*a*) *Supply of Seeds, Manures and Implements.*—A farmer, in order that he might be benefited economically, must buy his requirements at the lowest price. As a matter of fact, in the present unorganised system, if it can be called a system, he has to buy his requirements at the local *Hat* at a very high retail price, the price being dictated by a ring of wholesale dealers. Moreover, the seeds and manure that are commonly sold in the market are not accompanied by any kind of guarantee and one can never be sure of good results. In most cases, the seeds are not pure and lack in germinating power; while the fertilisers are deficient in the most valuable elements. A properly organised co-operative society should be able to make wholesale purchases at considerably lower rates, to insist upon a guarantee with goods, to get the samples properly tested, and to secure economy in the costs of freight and transport. A co-operative society should also be able to secure improved implements for the use of individual farmers and costly machinery for hire among the members. Even now in several districts, sugarcane-crushing machines are secured on hire by a group of farmers without forming themselves into regular co-operative societies, though in fact they work very nearly on co-operative method.

(*b*) *Sale of Agricultural Produce.*—The marketing of agricultural produce is no doubt a difficult problem, but if the economic condition of the farmer is to be improved, the difficulty has got to be surmounted. Just as owing to lack of organisation, a farmer has to purchase his raw materials at the dearest market, so on the other hand, for identical reason, he has often to sell his produce to the local dealer at a sacrifice price. The farmer has no means to keep himself informed of fluctuations in the market-rate and is, therefore, not in a position to put up a successful bargain with informed dealers. Moreover, pressed by creditors on all sides as he usually is, a farmer cannot hold on and wait for a better market and is, therefore, compelled to dispose of his produce as best as he can. Co-operative societies may be formed among these farmers for the joint sale of their produce. This would, however, presuppose a wide-awake co-operative spirit among the members themselves and some amount of education. The "difficulties of grading and standardisation, jealousies among members, need of capital and of finding a ready market for perishable commodities " will have to be surmounted. Ordinarily, there is no difficulty in disposing of first-class produce. These can always command a good price. It is the disposal of produce of second and third qualities which the bulk of the consumers will purchase, that particularly needs organised handling. The *Gosaba Paddy-sale Society* is doing excellent work in this line and is already contemplating starting a rice-mill of its own. Jute, the biggest commercial crop of Bengal that still commands a monopoly in the world market, now passes from the producer through a chain of middlemen to reach the ultimate consumer with the result that the producer is deprived of a portion of his legitimate dues and the consumer has to pay an unduly high price. It is a happy sign that efforts are being made to organise co-operative jute-sale-societies in jute areas.

The co-operative marketing of garden produce by eliminating the middleman might bring the organised producers into direct touch with the consumers and help to bring down the cost for the consumers, ensuring at the same time a better price for the producers.

(c) *Co-operative Irrigation.*—Co-operative Irrigation Societies are reported to have worked wonders in the districts of Bankura, Birbhum, and Midnapore, and the people there now appreciate that in these Societies, they possess a lever with which to fight successfully the eccentricities of weather. The benefit derived by farmers from these societies is direct and immediate. Lands which formerly would not fetch more than 3 to 5 maunds of paddy now yield from 8 to 10 maunds.

(d) *Starting of Dairies and Improvement of Cattle.*—Co-operative dairies and creameries have made Denmark what it is to-day and has effected a silent revolution in Ireland by organising the butter-making industry and by giving the Irish butter a leading position in the British market. The difficulties of fresh and pure milk-supply in the city of Calcutta and in many district towns are well known, and the only way to successfully tackle this problem is to organise dairies on co-operative lines. The co-operative milk societies situated in the neighbourhood of Calcutta are materially helping in the solution of this difficult problem, and though they have been able to touch only a fringe of the problem so far, there is a vast field for expansion of their activities.

Organisation of dairies and the improvement of milk-supply necessarily imply an improvement of the breed of the cattle. As yet no organised effort has been made to tackle this problem, though, however, one comes across isolated instances where a co-operative society, or an agricultural association, or the Agriculture Department has provided good bulls and other breeding stock for the improvement of local strains. Technical advice in these matters should be made available to the farmers. The growing of fodder crops and winter-dairing are matters which also require attention.

(*e*) *Starting of Poultry Farms.*—A stock of poultry is commonly found in the house of every farmer. "No form of farm-production is capable of wider expansion; no form is so often neglected." Owing to ignorance of the technique, no scientific effort is made to improve production. Eggs are collected by the egg-collector who travels from village to village, which are then handed over to the egg-dealer who brings down the eggs to the city of Calcutta for sale. The eggs that in this way find their way to the market are usually dirty and ungraded and bear no guarantee. Co-operative Egg-selling Societies in Denmark by sorting, grading, candling, and branding eggs and carefully packing them for export, have revolutionised the poultry and egg industry in Denmark and a beginning in this direction might very well be made in this province too. If this industry can be organised on co-operative basis, it will undoubtedly prove an additional source of wealth to the farmer.

(*f*) *Co-operative Insurance of Cattle.*—The most valuable asset of an agriculturist consists in his cattle. Instances are common where the entire live-stock of a village are carried away by rinderpest, foot and mouth disease and other epidemic diseases. Individual cultivators are not in a position to make adequate provision against such unforeseen catastrophies, and it is, therefore, necessary that the risk should be spread over as large a number of cultivators as possible, and worked by a central organisation. There are some Co-operative Cattle Insurance Societies in Burma which are reported to be working satisfactorily, but as yet no serious attempt has been made in this direction in Bengal. Agricultural Insurance Societies in Germany have proved quite successful. In Denmark, there are agricultural insurance societies of different kinds, *e.g.*, general insurance of stallion horses, breeding bulls, etc., specific insurance against foot and mouth disease, and insurance against damage or loss of crops.

Skilled veterinary assistance on co-operative basis may also be organised for the benefit of the agriculturists.

(*g*) *Supply of Yarns, Looms and Arrangements for the Training of Artisans.*—There is a great scope for the revival of cottage-industries by co-operative effort through the supply of yarns and improved patterns of looms. The Co-operative Department is doing a lot in this direction by organising Weavers' Societies, etc. In areas where there are a large number of Weavers' Societies, Unions of those societies are formed for the joint supply of yarns and the sale of finished products. The Bankura Co-operative Industrial Union, the Bagerhat Industrial Union, and the Nadia Industrial Union are reported to be doing satisfactory work in this direction and have already established a reputation in the market.

(*h*) *Sale of Manufactured Goods.*—Those who have come into touch with the organisation of co-operative industrial societies know how difficult it is to find a ready market for the disposal of their finished products. We still have in our province cottage-industries which have survived the vicissitudes of a decaying rural life, and though now in a dying state in many parts, have yet that spark of life in them which, with proper care, might be revived to much of their ancient vigour. With the growth of societies among these artisans, the organisation of a central agency in Calcutta for the disposal of their goods is being keenly felt.

(*i*) *Sanitation and Prevention of Malaria, etc.*—That the ravages of Malaria and Kala-azar can be effectively checked and a dreary village transformed into a smiling garden and abode of peace, health and contentment has been amply demonstrated by the working of Co-operative Anti-malaria Societies. With self-reliance as their motto, these societies, through their noble band of voluntary workers, have in many cases freed villages of breeding places for mosquitoes, have filled up insanitary *dobás*, have improved the village drainage, have arranged for the supply of good drinking water by means of tube-wells, have opened Injection Centres for the treatment of Kala-azar cases and have started dispensaries for supply of medical help and medicines to their members. One can find in these societies self-help and co-operation in their noblest form, and there is no doubt that in no distant future, Bengal will be dotted with a net-work of such useful societies.

(*j*) *Primary Education.*—The centre of activities of a rural co-operative society should also be the source of inspiration for the spread of primary education among the children of the cultivators. The appalling illiteracy in the masses of our people is the greatest hindrance to our national progress and there is no nobler work before our thoughtful countrymen than the removal of this vital obstacle. In Bihar, the co-operative movement has already taken up this difficult task and there is no reason why Bengal should lag behind. It is true that in many cases, co-operative societies in Bengal do help local schools by contributing a portion of their profits, and in some places such as Naogaon, they have materially helped the intellectual advancement of the people. But the problem requires to be tackled in an organised way in order that every member of a co-operative society might find full scope for acquiring at least an elementary education. Then and then only, with their knowledge increased, with their outlook broadened, will they be fit to successfully launch co-operative institutions of a varied nature, and not only better their economic condition but also make their lives worth-living.

The above are only a few suggestions placed before the meeting to serve as basis for further discussion.

I have to thank my nephew, Babu Akshoy Kumar Bose, B.A., Inspector of Co-operative Societies, Calcutta, for much help in the preparation of this paper.

CHUNILAL BOSE

THE JUDICIARY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

El Justicia or Supreme Magistrate of Aragon.

Scholars have fortunately given up the tendency of looking with contempt upon things medieval. In the political realm, not less than in other realms of knowledge, it has been found that the medieval ages were neither so inhuman nor so benighted as former students of history were prone to assume. We have indeed much to learn from those who lived in those remote times. The reaction against the absolutism of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was supposed by some to be a discovery of the age of enlightenment. We are proud of our progress and addicted as we are to evolutionary ideas, we had convinced ourselves that the modern safeguards for popular freedom mark a conspicuous advance along the route of civilization. But the historical sense has compelled us to inquire carefully and dispassionately into the records of the past and the conclusion has been forced on us that the absolutism of two centuries ago was but the climax of a long and protracted struggle between the nobility on the one hand and the kings on the other. No student of history can rest satisfied with the investigation of the conditions prevailing in the opening of the sixteenth century, he has to go back and inquire as to what extent those conditions were the result of causes at work during previous years and centuries. The integration of small feudal states was a welcome movement. We hail the modern national state and are proud of its achievements, but we have to realise that the structure of this modern state has been raised on the ruins of self-contained and independent organizations. And it behoves us to dig in the midst of those ruins to discover the gold which together with the rubbish lies buried there.

The centralization of power in the hands of the King, and consequent inevitable absolutism arising thereof, destroyed in Spain many remarkable political institutions, one of which we propose to study in this essay. Historians and writers on Political Science have called attention to the constitution of the kingdom of Aragon as one of the most worthy of attention in the middle ages. "Perhaps in no European monarchy," writes the learned Hallam (Middle Ages, Vol. II, page 43), "except our own, was the form of government more interesting than in Aragon, as a fortunate temperament of law and justice with the royal authority." A living Spanish historian, whose contributions to the Cambridge European History are well known, Sr. Altamira, sums up the situation in the latter part of the middle ages as far as Aragon was concerned. "The characteristic struggle of the age between the king and the nobility, the latter representing the reactionary principle in favour of feudalism, and the former aiming at the strengthening of sovereignty and at the centralization of political functions, continues, in all its vigour, in Aragon with the decisive triumph of monarchical institutions." During the period of this struggle, lasting roughly about four centuries, the genius of Aragon discovered some of the devices that very recent political inquiries had rediscovered to safeguard the political and popular freedom of modern countries. The supremacy of the Judiciary, as a bulwark both against the encroachments of the crown and against the passions of the nobility and the common people, was proclaimed by the people of Aragon as the basis of their constitution. "Not satisfied," writes Robertson, "with having erected formidable barriers against the encroachments of the royal prerogative, nor willing to commit the sole guardianship of their liberties entirely to the vigilance and authority of an assembly, similar to the Diet, States General and Parliaments, in which the other feudal nations have placed so much confidence, the Aragonese had recourse to an institution *peculiar to themselves*, and elected a Justicia or supreme Judge." (Reign of Charles V, Vol. IV, page 154.)

The beginnings of this peculiar institution are not at all clear. Social and political institutions, not unlike those great rivers which astonish us by the swiftness of their currents and the expansion of their waters, begin in imperceptible rivulets scarcely observed by the ordinary onlooker. Rivera, the learned scholar of Arabic antiquities, tells us that the "Justicia" owes its origin to the judge who, in the times of the Mahommedan domination, was entrusted with the function of investigating the violation of the Laws of the country. He was a mere agent of the king to whom kingly functions were delegated. "The nobility, in their attempt to wrest from the king such important function, succeeded in forcing him to recognise that the judicial functions were inherent to the office of the Justicia and that he exercised those functions in his own right and not in virtue of any delegation. Later the Justicia was constituted as arbiter between the king and the nobles and became independent of the former. The King continues to appoint the Justicia but the officer becomes irremovable for life, subject only to the verdict of the Cortes or Parliament." Several kings, writes Robertson citing the Spanish historian Zurita, attempted to remove Justicias who were obnoxious to them, and they sometimes succeeded in their attempt. In order to guard against this encroachment which would have destroyed the purpose of the institution, and have rendered the Justicia the dependant and tool of the crown, instead of the guardian of the people, a law was enacted in the Cortes of 1442 ordaining that the Justicia should continue in office during life, and should not be removed from it unless by the authority of the Cortes. The Crown repeatedly employed most questionable means to deprive the Justicia of his power. Sometimes, the king compelled him to sign a document in which the Justicia undertook to resign whenever the sovereign asked him to do so. Sometimes, the Justicia was badly handled and, as he refused to abdicate, he was treacherously put to death. No wonder then that the Cortes fought for the complete independence of the Justicia and for a declaration that his person was to be held as sacred.

"This magistrate," writes Robertson, "whose office bore some resemblance to that of the Ephori in ancient Sparta, acted as protector of the people, and the comptroller of the Prince. He was the supreme interpreter of the laws. Not only inferior judges but the kings themselves were bound to consult him in every doubtful case, and to receive his responses with implicit deference...... His power was exerted with no less vigour and effect in superintending the administration of government than in regulating the course of justice. It was the prerogative of the Justicia to inspect the conduct of the king. He had a title to review all the royal proclamations and patents, and to declare whether or not they were agreeable to law and ought to be carried into execution. He, by his sole authority, could exclude any of the king's ministers from the conduct of affairs, and call them to answer for their maladministration." (Robertson, l. c., page 155.)

The constitution of Aragon is particularly remarkable for the provisions made in it to safeguard the individual liberty of its citizens. It is these judicial functions, more even than his administrative powers, that are of particular interest to the student of comparative political institutions. "No other country in the continent of Europe could boast of such safeguards," writes Hallam. The two privileges, the maintenance of which was entrusted to the Justicia, were the privilege of *manifestation* and the privilege of *firma*, the former was meant to afford security for personal liberty and the latter, security for property. "To *manifest* any one," writes Zurita, "is to wrest the accused from the hands of the royal officers, so that he may not suffer any illegal violence; not that he is at liberty by this process, because the merits of his case are still to be inquired into; but because he is now detained publicly, instead of being as it were concealed, and the charges against him are investigated, not suddenly or with passion, but in calmness and according to law, therefore this is called *manifestation.*" The party accused was removed to the Manifestation, or prison of the state, to which no person had access except by the Justicia's permission. The privilege of *jurisfirma* empowered the Justicia to issue a provision that the property and possessions of the accused should be respected until sentence had been pronounced against him and furthermore by this power the Justicia inhibited all persons to arrest the man until the matter had been judicially inquired into. "This privilege," says Hallam, "bears some analogy to the writs of *pone* and *certiorari* in England, through which the court of King's Bench exercises its right of withdrawing a suit from the jurisdiction of inferior tribunals. But the Aragon *jurisfirma* was of a more extensive operation. Its object was not only to bring a cause commenced in an inferior court before the Justicia, but to prevent or inhibit any process from issuing against the person who applied for its benefit, or any molestation from being offered to him; so that ... our fortunes shall be protected, by the interposition of his prohibition, from the intolerable iniquity of the royal judges." Hallam refuses to see in this arrangement anything new or superior to the institutions existing in medieval England, but he is forced to recognise that in practice there was abundant difference. "We should undervalue," he says, "our own constitution by supposing that there did not reside in that court (the chief justice's Court) as perfect an authority to redress the subject's injuries as was possessed by the Aragonese magistrate. In the practical exercise of this power, indeed, there was abundant difference. Our English judges, more timid and pliant, left to the remonstrances of parliament that redress of grievances which very frequently lay within the sphere of their jurisdiction. There is, I believe, no recorded instance of a 'habeas corpus' granted in any case of illegal imprisonment by the crown or its officers during the continuance of the Plantagenet dynasty. We shall specially take notice of a very different conduct in Aragon." (L. c., page 48.)

Indeed the nobles of Aragon were bold enough not only to claim the privilege of "jurisfirma" but they also exercised it in spite of the opposition of the crown. One instance of particular interest should be mentioned. King John I had sent some citizens to prison without any form of law. They applied to the Justicia who promptly ordered their release. He issued a writ to that effect in consonance with the power that the nobles and the commons had entrusted to him. The King appointed one of his own judges as coadjutor to the Justicia, on the plea that the latter was partial. The Justicia remonstrated against the unconstitutional procedure of the king and passed sentence upon the case. The king was incensed with anger, but the Justicia explained that he was bound to defend his conduct before the Cortes and not elsewhere. The cautious historian Blancas ends this episode with the following remark: "The king was probably misled throughout this transaction, which I have thought fit to draw from obscurity, not only in order to illustrate the privilege of manifestation, but as exhibiting an instance of judicial firmness and integrity, to which in the fourteenth century, no country perhaps in Europe could offer a parallel."

It has been mentioned above that the Cortes fought for the complete independence of the Justicia. No one will question that their efforts were only partially praiseworthy. In their suspicion and distrust of the crown they invested a commoner with a power that he was not supposed to be capable of exercising rightly. One cannot help seeing in this device the blindness that inevitably results from class struggle. In the heat of the struggle men are apt to forget that psychological laws are equally applicable to all men. And if it was unadvisable to invest one king with such unlimited powers, it was equally wrong to do so in the case of any other solitary human individual. We need not be surprised if we find in the records of Aragonese history that some of these supreme Magistrates or Justicias abused their powers and that, as Altamira observes, the evils for the repression of which the Justicia was instituted, were aggravated by the shameful behaviour of some of the occupants of such high position. Hence the Cortes enlightened by experience were led to devise constitutional remedies to prevent this evil. The Cortes invited complaints against the Justicia and when the grievances were lodged before the house, a court of inquiry was appointed to look into them. The court of inquiry consisted of four members appointed by the king out of eight nominations by the Cortes; on the report of the court of inquiry, the Cortes finally acquitted or condemned the Justicia. This expedient, however, was not found quite satisfactory as it is obvious that the superintendence of the Cortes over the Justicia was bound to be a lengthy and dilatory procedure. Later on a tribunal of seventeen persons, chosen by lot in each meeting of the Cortes, was set up for the purpose of hearing complaints against the Justicia. The court met at three stated terms each year. Every person had liberty of complaining to it against any iniquity or neglect of duty on the part of the Justicia, or on the part of any of the inferior judges who acted in his name. The Justicia and his deputies were called to answer for their conduct. The members of the court passed sentence by ballot. They might punish by degradation, confiscation of goods, or even with death.

Such were the judicial functions of the Justicia de Aragon. In addition to these, he discharged a function of a purely political order. He administered the coronation oath to the king on his enthronement. Altamira does not seem to attach much historical value to this incident but as some other historians take note of it, a short account might interest the reader. It has already been pointed out that during the struggle between the kings and nobility and at a period of ascendancy of the latter, the king was constantly being reminded of the state of impotency to which he was reduced. "Even in swearing allegiance to their sovereign," writes Robertson, "an act which ought naturally to be accompanied with professions of submission and respect, they (the nobles) devised an oath in such a form as to remind him of his dependence on his subjects." "We, said the Justicia to the king in the name of his spirited barons, who are each of us as good, and who are altogether more powerful than you, promise obedience to your government if you maintain our rights and liberties: but if not, not." Whatever opinion one may hold about the genuineness of the text of the oath, it is beyond all doubt that it expresses the genius of the Aragonese constitution of that age. The barons of that age were very proud of their nobility and one can quite understand their desire not to allow the king to forget that they were just as good as he was. That was indeed the central fact in the feudal controversy. The nobility was very jealous of their titles and many nobles undoubtedly considered themselves of far higher worth than the king himself.

There is one more point which should be mentioned before we put an end to this article. The Justicia was taken not out of the first rank of nobility but out of the second. The reason for this is given by the eminent historian Zurita: "By the laws of Aragon, the *ricos hombres* or nobles were not subject to capital punishment; but as it was necessary for the security of liberty, that the Justicia should be accountable for the manner in which he executed the high trust reposed on him, it was a powerful restraint upon him to know that he was liable to be punished capitally." The supremacy of the Judiciary seems to have been the pivot of the Aragon constitution. It is deplorable that, in the midst of the struggle for political domination, this doctrine was forgotten and when the kings triumphed over the nobility, moderation did not regulate their actions. The jealousy was too strong to tolerate any reminiscences of the power wielded by the nobility. And the sacred office of the Justicia was gradually reduced to a mere shadow of power, until it finally disappeared in the eighteenth century. But History, jealous of its legacy, has kept for us the reliable account of such important institution, democratic in its tone and its purpose, and well worthy of the consideration of modern constitution-makers.

P. G. BRIDGE

THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY

ITS VALUE FOR LENDING BOOKS.

The greatest difficulty we have experienced has been to make known that the Imperial Library is not for Government and departmental use only, but is for the public also: further, and this is of still greater importance, that it is a Lending Library, and is prepared to send its books to approved persons, anywhere in India or Burma. There are scholars all over India and Burma who do not know this. It is not only scholars to whom the books may be sent: in practice anyone who applies for the loan of books is approved. I have found such difficulty myself in getting these facts made known, that I have recently fallen into the practice of mentioning them to every stranger that I meet, in trains, on board ship, in hotels, and even at the G. P. O., when I go to post my letters, and I have suggested to a number of persons that they should form the vow to communicate the news to one person a week on an average during the rest of their time in India, or during the rest of their lives, if they are Indians.

The fact is that the Imperial Library is, and has been from the date of its founding by Lord Curzon, a Lending Library, and it sends its books to all parts of India. During the last fortnight, for instance, it has sent books to Delhi, Nagpur, Bankura, Jhang (Punjab), Moradpur, Rangoon, and Chandernagore, and not only in some cases to one person in the place in question, but to two or more persons, or, if to only one person, not only once to that person, but two or three times. Thus several parcels of books have gone to Delhi, and two have gone to Rangoon. Furthermore, we have been in communication on the subject of the lending of books with persons in Baidya Bati (Hughli District), Nellore, Chandausi, and Jeptur (Kathiawar). So it goes on all the time.

OF BORROWED BOOKS.

I cannot but think that there are people who have heard that the library is a Lending Library, but have forgotten the bare statement, or the advertisement seen, not having made a deep enough impression, and for the same reason I go on to tell two stories of books borrowed each of which has so striking a feature that those who read this article will remember that the library is a Lending Library. I say of books borrowed but the first story is of a book that a man wanted to borrow, but for a good reason we did not lend him it. The book was "My Recollections" by the Countess of Cardigan. It was so mercilessly exposed and the author so castigated on its publication, by a reviewer in *The Saturday Review*, that a lady, one with more sense of the fitness of things than the Countess of Cardigan apparently possessed, bought up the entire edition, and destroyed it by fire. It was not an immoral book, but in bad taste. Some copies had already been sold and after this conflagration, they became bibliographical curiosities. We bought our copy for the sum of one rupee—from a man who did not know the book's history. It must be said, in fairness to ourselves, that we did not know it then either. But I happened to notice the book one day on its shelf (an officiating librarian did the buying) and, it not being the kind of book we ordinarily buy, I took it down to read. "What a book!" I said. And not long afterwards I learned of this business of the conflagration.

My other story is of the lending of a pamphlet dealing with Calcutta in days gone by. A man borrowed it: he wrote in some time afterwards to say that he had most unfortunately lost it. Would we buy another copy, and charge the cost to him? Now, books are not easy to lose, unless they are lent, or unless there has been a fire, or a theft; and it might quite well occur to a man, who very much coveted a book, and had got a copy of it from some library, that he might just stick to it, and make the library have the trouble of finding another copy, making up a story of the library copy having been lost. This was what we suspected was the case with our friend, the borrower of the pamphlet. We did not believe his story of the loss. So we wrote to ask in what circumstances the pamphlet had been lost; if there had been a fire, we must be told so; if there had been a theft, had the police been communicated with, and by return of post came the pamphlet, with a letter stating that it had been "mislaid in a locked box." What moved us to our disbelief was an intuition that it is valuable to librarians to possess.

The probability is that we should never have succeeded in finding another copy of the pamphlet, it being old and rare, it being possible that there is not another copy anywhere in existence. And it was worse than that; for the pamphlet was bound with some twenty others (a bad practice in a library, experience shows); so that it would have been a question of hunting for other copies of them all. The mere money value was nothing in comparison.

SPREADING THE FACTS.

I have now in some small way contributed, I hope, to making known the fact that books can be obtained on loan from the Imperial Library. Any mention of the Library in the Press is followed, it has been noticed, by the arrival of letters and postcards asking about the rules; but the people who do not know are still apparently ever so far more numerous than those who do. A thing, then, to be wished is that the directors of public instruction throughout India, and the inspectors of schools, and the heads of colleges should do what they can, and it is a great deal, to spread the intelligence. There are notice boards in all colleges, that is, an easy means of making any fact known throughout a college, and the fact of the Imperial Library, if made known to the staffs and the students of all the colleges, would be made known to practically all the Indians with whom we are concerned. There would then remain only the scattered Europeans. They are all likely to be members of clubs, and there are notice boards in clubs too.

There is no charge made for the use of the Library. The borrower pays the postage both ways. We are often asked what the subscription is; so I add that information. There is no subscription.[1]

J. A. CHAPMAN

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[1] Reproduced from *The Statesman*, January 5, 1926.

PATHSALA

No Bengalee village is complete without its "maktab" or its "Pathasala" and until recently the Mahomedan villages used to boast of both these ancient institutions. Time, however, has brought changes in its train even in the remote villages of Bengal. And now, in the Hindoo villages, the "Pathsala" is fast yielding place to the Matriculation and Middle English Schools and in the Mahomedan villages the older "maktabs" and the "Pathsalas" are being amalgamated in the "new maktab" and in many of the bigger villages even the "new maktabs" are being replaced by the junior "madrassas." The Pathsala also, where it still exists, is fast changing character and in the not very distant future we shall not be able to distinguish it from an ordinary English Kindergarten School. The picturesque seminary which has done such yeoman's service in the cause of culture for countless centuries would then have passed away into the limbo of forgotten things. No lover of the antique and the picturesque can help regretting the passing of these institutions, but like reasonable men, we must I am afraid bow to the inevitable. But we are only human and cannot help shedding a few drops of tears at the fall of things once so great and mighty.

I very well remember my first lesson ("Hate Khari" as it is called) at the Pathsala where I migrated from the village maktab. The "Guru Mahasay" or Preceptor, an affable middle-aged Hindoo gentleman, received me very kindly, and, after a few sage and paternal remarks about the value of learning and the utility of making oneself learned, wrote the first letters of the Bengalee alphabet in chalk on the cement floor of the Pathsala. The chalk was then handed over to me and after I fixed it between my thumb and my index finger the "Mahasay" (as he was called for brevity's sake) caught hold of my hand and guided the chalk over the writing on the floor and as he did so made me repeat each letter as the chalk passed over it. Thus ended my first lesson. My father who accompanied me promised a valuable present to the "Mahasay" to celebrate the auspicious occasion. The "Mahasay" on his part expressed great pleasure at having the scion of a such a distinguished family of the village as his pupil and told my happy father that I had the appearance of a bright and intelligent young lad. Needless to say I went home highly elated with all that happened.

Next day, however, things did not develop so propitiously. I left for the Pathsala in the morning with a cousin of mine who had joined the

Institution a few days earlier. As ill luck would have it, he started taunting me over my imperfect knowledge of the alphabets, he himself having mastered practically the whole lot of them. I bore with him for a little while and then suddenly caught hold of one of his chubby cheeks with my fingers and pinched it so hard that blood began to stream out of it in great profusion. There was consternation amongst the boys who were accompanying us and they assured me with great emphasis that the Mahasay would lay the "bechuti" (a stinging plant used by the village "Gurus" to punish particularly naughty boys) on my back with no sparing hand to punish me for my ferocity. The mention of the "bechuti" plant conjures up indescribable terrors in the mind of the village boy and I was no exception to the rule. So instead of accompanying my friends to the Pathsala I made straight for home as fast as my little legs would carry me. For over a month the Pathsala did not see my face any more. The Mahasay came to my place several times to look for me but as soon as I got scent of him the vision of the "bechuti" plant rose in my mind with all its attendant horrors and I lost no time in making myself scarce. Gradually, however, the fear lost its pristine vigour and I was ultimately persuaded to face my "Guru" again. He, however, turned out to be a much more kindly and forgiving person than I had anticipated and I was only too pleased to resume my interrupted lessons.

We did not have any forms or benches in our Pathsala like they have in the modern schools. We had to carry our seats with us. These consisted of little rush mats about three feet long and two feet wide and were known as "Pattaries." We used to spread them on the floor and sit on them with our books, slates and other belongings arranged round us. When the lesson was over we tied up our books and other articles in a neat little parcel called "daftar," rolled up our pattaries with the palm leaves tucked inside, and carried the whole lot home under our arms, with the ink-pot swinging by a little string from one of our fingers.

The palm leaves I have spoken of were used by us for writing the alphabets. We brought them to school and took them back home in our "pattaries" every day. After filling the leaves with our writing we used to wash them in the neighbouring tank, spread them on the ground, got them dried, and used them again. Children are children everywhere and we were often glad to get a brief respite from our work on the pretext of washing and drying these leaves. After we mastered the art of writing the alphabets on the palm leaves we were promoted to the use of paper for more complicated forms of writing. This used to mark a definite stage in the career of the scholar at the "Pathsala." As a matter of fact the boys were divided into two main classes on the basis of the material used for writing, *viz.*, (1) those who wrote on palm leaves and (2) those who wrote on paper.

We did not use any steel pens and very seldom even quill pens. We made pens for ourselves out of the branches of the bamboo plants and some of us were adepts in the art. For our ink also we were not dependant upon any foreign source of supply. We used to make quite a passable kind of ink from the soot of the chimmey-less kerosine lamp and the washings of rice fried to cinders. Cheap modern inks were however creeping into vogue in our time and now and then an ultra-modern scholar sported a pen. Talking of pen and ink reminds me of a belief which universally prevailed among Pathsala boys and their home folk. It was thought that if a boy got home with his face and hands smeared with ink he had done a good day's work. It need hardly be said that we made liberal use of this belief to our advantage and made it a special point to get back home with our hands and faces smeared with ink. Our mothers made such fuss of us on these occasions.

There was only one Guru Mahasay and the scholars were in diverse stages of development. The reader would be wondering how he managed to attend to the needs of such a motley assemblage. I can, however, assure him that the wisdom of the ancients solved this difficult problem fairly satisfactorily and, as usual, in a remarkably simple way. The method adopted was to give the charge of the instruction of a junior pupil to a senior one. By this simple device the Guru Mahasay always managed to have as many teachers as he wanted, if not more. Of course, he himself kept a general supervision over all these improvised teachers, thus ensuring a fair amount of uniformity in the teaching. The system, however, sometimes produced comical results. I remember when I first went to the Pathsala a boy who was my senior by about a year was detailed off to teach me the alphabets. I happened to be his first pupil and so he naturally felt very proud of the distinction and lost no opportunity in impressing on me his unapproachable eminence in learning. I, like a neophyte, meekly submitted to his pretensions. Fates, however, were unkind to my worthy mentor, and, in a few months our roles were reversed. I now became the teacher and he the pupil. It was my turn to crow. Be it however said to the credit of my teacher-pupil that he accepted the new situation with the best possible grace and instead of harbouring any ill feeling towards me soon became one of my ardent admirers.

In the modern schools boys begin their lessons at 10-30 or 11 A.M. and finish at about 4 P.M. This gives them sufficient time for games in the afternoon. We however followed the traditions of an age when play was considered objectionable and barely tolerated by the guardians and preceptors of the Bengalee youth. We used to attend the Pathsala from 7 A.M. to 10 A.M. and from 3 P.M. to 6 P.M., of course, approximately. We had therefore to indulge in our sportive instincts in the middle of the day, no doubt, a most inconvenient time. Thanks, however, to the wisdom of the ancient sages of India, there were so many pujas during the year for which the Pathsala had to be closed that we always had plenty of opportunities to indulge in our favourite sports and pastimes. Furhermore, the spirit of youth always created opportunities for itself, and, on the whole, we had as much play and fun out of life as the modern boys, if not more.

Of course, we did not play the favourite modern games of football, cricket and hockey. And yet, the games we played were quite as healthy and exciting as the new-fangled innovations from the West. What Pathsala boys can think of "hadudu" without recalling moments of intense excitement and rapturous joy. What game could test the stamina of a player better than "ghol ghol." I will describe an incident in a "ghol ghol" game we played which will show that it yields to none in rousing the spirit of fortitude and resistance in the boy. The game is a simple one and does not require any mechanical aids and contrivances. A number of boys divide themselves into two parties, one being numerically larger than the other. A fairly large circle is drawn on an open space of ground. The larger party gets inside the circle and the smaller party remains outside. The outsiders then try to drag the insiders (I am using these terms for the sake of brevity) out of the circle, and the insiders try to drag the outsiders inside the circle. Members of each party have the right to help their comrades. Sometimes there is a regular tug of war over a particular player, at other times, the player is easily dragged out of the circle or into it as the case may be. If an outsider is dragged clear in, he is out so far as that game is concerned. But for an insider it is not sufficient only to be dragged out. His captors must make him say "Ghol." Hence the name "ghol ghol." Of course, a boy would not say "Ghol" and thus give away his comrades easily. Force has obviously to be used, and in this game, this is permitted to a limited extent. The captive might be given as many slaps and fist blows on the back as he could stand. The beating has to stop as soon as he says "Ghol." He is "out" then. When all the members of any party are out, the game is over, and the surviving party is the winner.

One evening a large number of us were playing this game. The inside party consisted of about a dozen boys and there were three or four boys in the outside party. I myself was in the inside party. The outsiders were all older and stronger boys than us. Several of us were dragged out and made to say "Ghol" without much difficulty. Then a sturdy boy with a limp in his gait was dragged out. The outsiders tried to force him to say "Ghol" but he would not yield. Slaps, fist blows and even kicks rained fast on the brave little lad but to no purpose. He lay on the ground with his broad and deep chest resting on his sinuous little arms, and received all the blows that came, without flinching. The outsiders lost their patience and started playing foul. They pulled up the stalks of some "venda" plants (a hedge plant) and belaboured our comrade with them. We implored him to give in but he would not. His body was soon a mass of sores and swellings and he was literally bathed in perspiration. We could not stand it any longer, and tried to stop the outsiders from assaulting our comrade further. A hubbub arose. Older people came and stopped the game. The issue remained undecided.

I have often thought of this boy and of his bulldog-like tenacity. Given a sufficient education what a powerful champion he would have made of any cause he espoused. His parents, however, were poor and could not keep him long even at the pathsala and now he earns a precarious living at his native village in a humble calling.

It often seems to me Gray had some such sturdy rural hero in his mind when he wrote in his Elegy :—

Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid,
Some heart pregnant with celestial fire,
Hands that the rod of empire might have swayed,
Or waked to ecstasy the living lyre.
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....
....
Some village Hampden, that with dauntless breast,
The little tyrant of his fields withstood,
Some mute inglorious Milton here may rest,
Some Cromwell guiltless of his Country's blood.

In any case I cannot think of an apter illustration of the truth of these beautiful lines than the splendid heroism displayed by our comrade on this occasion.

A good deal of sentimentalism is indulged in by our fashionable city-bred reformers regarding the virtues of open-air teaching as advocated by modern European educationists. Our Guru Mahasayas do not talk about the matter but as a matter of fact they have been acting on this principle from time immemorial. In winter we used to sit mostly in the open space outside the Pathsala. In the summer afternoons also, when the sun lost its fierceness and the trees cast their grateful shadow on the ground, we spread our "Pattaries" in the open and did our work under the canopy of the blue sky! Outside the Pathsala and bordering on the District Board Road there was a shady pepul tree. Our Guru Mahasay sat on a Pattari under this tree, smoked his hukka and supervised our work in a leisurely sort of way. Along the great highway carts and carriages passed to and fro. Perspiring pedestrians trudged along the road to their far-off destinations. In the midst of our lessons we looked up every now and then to catch a glimpse of any vehicle that passed or of any interesting traveller who happened to attract our notice. Sometimes a sociable traveller walked up to our Guru Mahasay and asked for a smoke from his "chelam" (the bowl of the hukka in which tobacco is burnt) a hospitality which was never denied. The stranger would then seat himself comfortably under the shade of the tree and chat away about the outer world which was so strange, so wonderful and so interesting to us. We dropped our pens and our books and listened to the talk with rapt attention. All unconsciously, we drew closer and closer to the gossiping stranger, until suddenly the sharp voice of the Guru Mahasay rang out and sent us back to our lessons. Our rebellious ears however still strained to catch the syren call of the stranger.

Sometimes, however, the traffic on the road led to startling developments. I can recall one such incident with vividness even now. It was in the year of the great plague which ravaged the length and breadth of India and created panic and consternation everywhere. There were very serious troubles in Calcutta over the handling of plague patients. People deserted the City in their thousands and flocked to the country where they spread highly coloured accounts of what was going on in the City. Doctors and their attendants were freely painted as a sinister band of kidnappers and murderers. Stories were abroad of how hale and hearty men had been seized on their way, and even from their shops and houses, hustled unceremoniously into dark covered carriages and spirited away into the unknown whence no man ever saw them return. Old Pathsala boys who had recently gone to the great City to earn their living, or to prosecute their studies further and who now sought the safety of their village homes, came to the Pathsala almost daily and made our flesh creep by recounting the horrors that were being enacted in Calcutta. We huddled together and listened to them with an almost morbid interest and on these occasions even our worthy Guru Mahasay became so deeply absorbed that he forgot to send us back to our work with sharp words and expletives as was his wont on similar but less engrossing occasions.

One day while we were in this state of tense excitement a Bengalee overseer in his exotic uniform appeared on the District Board Road with a batch of Sontal coolies. They were on their way to do some repairs somewhere. This obvious explanation however did not occur to us then. Some one suddenly cried out "the kidnappers" and in the twinkling of an eye the whole Pathsala, Guru Mahasay and all, was making for the interior of the village as fast as legs would carry, leaving books, slates, "pattaries," and everything else, behind. Ours was a Mahomedan village and in a few minutes some fifty stalwarts appeared on the scene armed with lathies and surrounded the startled P. W. D. Babu and his coolies. Matters would have gone hard with these worthy men but for the timely intervention of the soberer and better informed men of the village.

We were expected to take our seats and begin work before the Guru Mahasay put in his appearance. Any one who came late had to bring a supply of tobacco for the Mahasay, and, in default, he was given the stripe. Needless to say, we all managed to secure a supply of tobacco from somewhere whenever we happened to be late. A cynic might say that our worthy Guru Mahasay would, under such a system, naturally like his boys to be late. He, however, never openly expressed any such preference to my knowledge. Some of us presented him with supplies of tobacco even when punctual, just to please him, and thus managed to become his favourite pupils.

If a boy, however, wilfully absented himself from school, drastic steps were taken to enforce his attendance. Four or five of the sturdiest boys were then detailed off to bring the culprit to school by main force. The arresting party would go up and down the village looking for him and more often than not find him plucking fruits in some one's garden, or perchance, catch him stealing birds' eggs in some sequestered bush. The Pathsala "bulldogs" would pounce on the truant before he had time to get away and lead him to school under arrest. Some of the bolder spirits sometimes resisted apprehension.

The bulldogs however were always more than a match for them, and, in pursuance of their warrant, they would tie the culprit's hand and feet with his own dhoti and chaddar, and carry him to school, swinging like a hammock, some holding him by his hands, and others by his feet. Needless to say his reception at the Pathsala on these occasions used to be of a somewhat stormy nature.

The Gurumahasay had a much ampler armoury of punishments than the modern schoolmaster. Birching, as in all countries and all schools, was the common form of punishment, but there were others which were more indigenous, and I might also say, more ingenuous. Boys were sometimes made to stand on their toes, sometimes they had to sit with the weight of their bodies resting on their toes and brickbats inserted between their legs and thighs. They had often to box their own nose and ears, and, in special cases of delinquency the offender had to rub his nose on the ground to the length of seven cubits. But the punishment that was par excellence, the Pathsala punishment, and which, in the language of hotel managers might be called its "speciality" was the application of the "Bechuti" plant on the back of the offending boy. This plant, peculiar to the soil of Bengal, has a stinging quality which made its victim writhe and shriek with agony. He felt as if a thousand wasps were digging their angry stings into his poor unprotected skin. The boy naturally struggled and tried to push away the plant with his hands and in doing so got all his limbs brushed by it and the poor wretch was reduced in a few seconds to a writhing mass of agony. As an extra refinement of this punishment, the plant was sometimes soaked in the foul water of the "hukka." This gave its sting an atrociously painful character. Be it however said to the credit of our kind Gurumahasay that he seldom resorted to the "bechuti" plant, and in no case did he soak it in "hukka" water before application. But this cannot be said of Gurus of a more ruthless disposition. Of course, boys who were treated in this drastic fashion would be dealt with severely at any educational institution. Good and obedient scholars were never shewn any particular severity.

Loud sing-song style of reading was characteristic both of the Pathsala and the Maktab. It is also to be found in the modern Indian schools. But whereas, in the latter institutions, it is a failing for which apologies are often made, in the former, it was the approved system. We all read our lessons aloud and while doing this our instinct of emulation often made us drown the voices of others by the deafening din we made. And yet something can be said in favour of this age-old system of reading aloud; it fixes the words and ideas in the tender minds of children more effectively than silent reading: and to a great extent it checks that lapse into absent-minded reverie which is one of the pitfalls of early youth. Any way, multiplication tables were impresed in our minds by this system in a wonderfully effective way. In the evening, before dispersing, the Guru Mahasay used to muster us in a line on the ground outside the Pathsala. He took his stand in front and with his face towards us repeated the multiples in a sonorous singsong. We took up his words and chanted them in a loud chorus. It was, I can assure the reader, a most effective method of teaching. Even at this distance of time, I can repeat my multiples without a moment's hesitation. Short Bengali poems also were taught in the same pleasant and effective way. Here the modern teacher can very profitably take a leaf out of the Guru Mahasay's book.

As a matter of fact the Guru Mahasay taught us all that he set out to teach, effectively and well. After a three years' course at his seminary we could read Bengali without difficulty, write letters, receipts and other minor decuments tolerably, and could even keep khatas and other complicated books of account in an intelligible manner. A boy who spent an extra year at the Pathsala could do all these things remarkably well, in fact, much better than a boy who spent an equal number of years at a modern school.

When a rival Pathsala came into existance in our neighbourhood we tried to drown the voice of its scholars by chanting our multiples and our poems with the utmost possible lustiness. It is hardly necessary to add that they on their part tried to pay us back the compliment. This introduced an element of tense excitement in our little lives, and our rivalries often went far beyond mere shouting, and encounters between the scholars of the two institutions, somewhat in the style of the fight between the Capulets and the Montagues of Verona, often disturbed the peace of the countryside.

Our fees ranged from 2 *as.* to 8 *as.* and some of the poorer boys were taught by our kind Guru Mahasay without any pecuniary remuneration. There used to be about 50 scholars at the Pathsala. At a most favourable computation the Guru Mahasay's income from fees could not have been more than Rs. 20 per month. This was hardly a sufficient income for a man in his station in life, and yet, he managed somehow to live in fair comfort. How then was this miracle achieved?

Well, to begin with, the income from fees was to a considerable extent supplemented by "Sidhas" or contributions in rice and vegetables made by boys once every fortnight. This used to insure the food supply for the month. The "Sidha" day being observed as a half holiday the boys used to look forward to it but not so, I am afraid, many of the parents. But it was a time-honoured custom, and, had to be respected. Enterprising Gurus sometimes attempt to increase the number of "Sidha" days in the month. Boys welcome these innovations but the protests of parents, and the gradual falling off in the number of scholars soon bring the Guru Mahasay back to the path of orthodoxy and the innovation is regretfully abandoned. A little money the Guru Mahasay always makes by giving private lessons to some of the wealthier boys, but the chief source of his extra income is the writing of deeds and other documents for the village folk. Every Guru Mahasay is more or less of an unlicensed lawyer and as such he fills an important place in the rural economy. The cultivators and other humble folk find in him a real friend, philosopher and guide. Our Guru Mahasay's income was derived from all these sources, and yet, it has to be admitted, it was not by any means a princely one. He was, however, like the majority of his calling a born philosopher, and often talked feelingly of the feud that has existed from eternity between Laksmi (the Goddess of wealth) and Saraswati (the Goddess of learning).

There is one thing which the old Pathsala had and which is woefully lacking in the modern schools in this country and that is the intimacy between the teacher and the pupil. We used to look upon the Guru Mahasay as one of our own kith and kin and this although we were of different religious persuasions, which meant a good deal more to us than it does to the city dwellers of to-day. If any one of us fell ill he was sure to come and enquire about the invalid's health. If he himself was indisposed we on our part made anxious enquiries about him at his "basha." If there was a feast or a festival in the house of any of us he was sure to attend although his religion forbade him from taking any food at the house of a Muslim. On wet days we huddled round him in the centre of the Pathsala house to avoid the draught and the drifting rain. One of the boys would then fill his "chillam" for him and puffing comfortably away at his "hukka" he would tell us wonderful stories of ghost and spirits, of floods and famines, of snakes and tigers, and of saints and holy men. The aromatic fumes of the tobacco imparted a genial warmth to the damp air and we listened to the stories with the zest which only childhood knows.

Inspite, however, of friendship and familiarity we held our Guru

Mahasay in the highest esteem. He, on his part, although entertaining an almost filial affection for us, never relaxed his discipline and kept a vigilant supervision over our work. Under such conditions, it is hardly necessary to add, we put forth our best efforts and the few years we spent at the Pathsala were by no means wasted.

Time passes, and, in our journey through the vale of life, we leave the old landmarks behind. It is now nearly a quarter of a century since I last attended my dear old pathsala,—mighty changes have occurred in my life since then—I have left the happy days of childhood far behind and am now advancing steadily towards middle age. Many old associations have I forgotten and many new associations have I made. But even time, the great dissolver, has not dissolved the bond of affection between my old Guru Mahasay and myself. Even now he often honours me with his visits and makes eager inquiries about my life and work. When success attends any of my endeavours no one is better pleased than he, and, when disappointment damps my spirit, he is one of the few genuine friends who come and administer the healing balm of consolation. When a reminiscent mood comes over me the memories of many gorgeous institutions and surroundings fade before the tender and vivid recollections of the thatched "Atchala" (structure with eight separate thatches) under the pepul tree at the junction of the village roads where I had my first lessons in Bengali at the feet of our dear old Guru Mahasay. A strange longing then comes over me for the happy days of childhood, and the Guru Mahasay and his Pathsala become for me a symbol and an inspiration.

S. WAJID ALI

ANGLO-RUSSIAN RIVALRY MENACES WORLD PEACE

Since the advent of the Conservative Baldwin ministry in power, British Foreign Policy has taken the distinct colour of being anti-Russian. At the present time Sir Austen Chamberlain, the British Foreign Minister, is anxious to proceed cautiously with the hope of the ultimate end of gaining an Anglo-American-German understanding which will provide more ample security for the British Empire than the League of Nations can afford. The League of Nations does not afford security in the true sense of the word for any one of the participants; and that is very evident from the fact that the major partners of this "diplomatic concern"—France and Great Britain—are anxious to devise means for a "Security Pact"; and France to-day depends more upon the defensive and offensive alliances than upon the League.

The policy of securing an Anglo-American-German understanding is nothing new for the British Government; both the Lloyd George and Macdonald Governments strove for the same and showed distinct love for the German people. Sir Austen Chamberlain, believing as did his late distinguished father, that an understanding with Germany would be of greater value for the British Empire than catering to France, agrees with other Conservative leaders that Great Britain for her own self-interest cannot afford to throw France overboard at the present juncture of international relations. This attitude of British statesmen is due to the experience they have had with France since the conclusion of the World War. They know that because France was shabbily treated by the Lloyd George Government so there came into existence a Franco-Turkish Understanding which led to the victory of the Turkish Nationalists, undermining British prestige in the Near

East and India. British statesmen know that a disgruntled and powerful France may take steps to form a Franco-Russian Understanding backed by other subsidiary alliances, so that French interest will be not so easily ignored by Great Britain or any European Power. As in the past the Franco-Russian Alliance through the initiative of French statesmen developed into the Triple Entente which caused the destruction of the Central Powers, so a Franco-Russian Understanding based upon common hostility or distrust towards British Foreign Policy may become a Franco-Russian-German Understanding in Europe, and a Franco-Russian-Japanese Understanding in the Orient. To avoid this dreadful possibility, Great Britain is supporting the so-called "Security Pact" proposed by Dr. Stresseman, the German Foreign Minister, whose avowed object is to guarantee the peace of Europe with a cordial understanding between France, Great Britain, Germany and Belgium.[1] (Italy may participate in it.)

British support to the Security Pact is supposed to assure French security against a possible German aggression; but in reality it is a step towards an Anglo-German understanding which will eventually undermine the existing cordial relations between Russia and Germany, and at the same time will block all possible avenues for a direct understanding between France and Germany politically or economically which might prejudice British interests. In other words it may be said that the British support to the so-called Security Pact is due to the definite policy of winning over Germany to her side and to crush the faintest possibility of a Continental Block composed of Russia, Germany and France in Europe, and Germany, Russia and Japan in the Orient. Although France is not enthusiastic about the Security Pact, and advocated Anglo-French-American Alliance (Mr. Woodrow Wilson agreed to this proposition, but the United States Senate refused to consider it), or Anglo-French-Belgian Alliance. M. Briand, realizing the absolute impossibility of securing any such Alliance has on behalf of the French Government agreed to the proposed Security Pact, on principle, so that Great Britain and Germany may not come to any political understanding without France and Belgium. Another reason for the acceptance by France of the Security Pact is that her failure to subscribe to it might have been used as propaganda against her as the disturber of the peace of Europe. Should France refuse to accept the Security Pact, she might be deprived of the friendly support of Great Britain in her present Moroccan and Syrian difficulties.

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[1] Although it is generally believed that the idea of the Security Pact has been originated by Dr. Stresseman, the truth is the idea is of Anglo-American origin. Prof. B. E. Schmitt of the University of Chicago who was recently in Germany to study the international relations of the Reich, declared before the Institute of Politics at Williamstown that the idea of the Security Pact was first suggested to the German Government by Mr. Houghton, the former American Ambassador to Germany (and the present American Ambassador in London) after the French occupation of the Ruhr. I have been informed by a very reliable authority that the idea of the Security Pact originated in British diplomatic circles, interested in bringing about an Anglo-German understanding. It is well-known now that the German Government (Cuno Administration) was encouraged by the British Government to the extent of some kind of un-official promise to Germany, to support her against France, in case the latter attempted to enter the Ruhr. There is not the least doubt that the German Foreign Policy for a time was influenced by the advice of Lord d' Abernon, the present British Ambassador in Berlin. When the British Government failed to support the Cuno Administration against France on the Ruhr question, the Germans lost faith in British promise of support, so the British diplomats thought that the best way to present the idea of a Security Pact to the German Government was to do it as an American suggestion and through the then American Ambassador Mr. Houghton. The proposed trip of Mr. Houghton from London to Baden-Baden is considered in Germany to be quite as significant as was the trip of ex-Secretary Hughes and Secretary Mellon to London and European capitals before the putting through of the Dawe's plan.

Great Britain's support to the proposed Security Pact, is on the condition that Germany shall enter the League of Nations and assume all obligations, including military aid to be extended against the Power, which might be outlawed by the League in case of a conflict between a member of the League and an outsider. This has a definite bearing on the anti-Russian policy of the British Government.

As long as both Russia and Germany remained outside of the League of Nations, Britain could not bring any effective diplomatic or military pressure on Russia, in case the present Anglo-Russian rivalry assumed the shape of a conflict.

German statesmen have no desire, at the present moment, to adopt a definite policy of any entangling alliance with any power; but the majority of them feel that they must accept the offer of Britain and France which will allow Germany to enter the League of Nations and to have a seat in its Council.

German statesmen do not wish to commit themselves to any anti-Russian policy. This is the very reason that the reply of Germany as to her entering the League of Nations is not unconditional, but with the reservation that Germany with her present disarmed condition, should not be asked to undertake any military obligations, neither should she be asked to allow an army or armies to pass through German territory against any nation. It is also contended that after Germany's entry into the League she may be able to recover certain German Colonies in Africa.[1] The principal reason in favour of the signing of the Security Pact by Germany, according to its advocates, is that this will raise Germany to a status, equal to that of France, Great Britain, Italy and Japan so far as the League of Nations is concerned; and at the same time Germany will begin a new life in the international world, not as a "pariah" but as a partner of the great European powers in the Concert of Nations.[2] The defeated and outlawed Germany of yesterday is the centre of European politics to-day, and the Allied statesmen are quite anxious to secure German support to preserve the peace of Europe!

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[1] It is most interesting to note, that not only the Pan-Germans are anxious to recover certain of the lost German Colonies, but also certain Democrats and Centrists cherish the same desire. The last two groups think that through Germany's entering the League of Nations it can be arranged that some of the former German Colonies be given to Germany as Mandates. Lord Grey, the former Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Great Britain, in a recent speech in the House of Lords has advocated that Germany not only should be admitted into the League, but she should be entrusted with certain Mandates, on behalf of the League.

[2] The German Nationalists are formidable opponents of the Security Pact, on the ground that by signing the Pact Germany will give up her rights to recover certain

According to the Russian reports from Moscow, Great Britain is definitely planning to increase her naval power in the Baltic, menacing Soviet Russia. One report says:

> "*Moscow July, 15th*—The Soviet press to-day announced a report of leasing by England from Esthonia, of the islands of Dago and Esel. The information, which it is asserted, is received here from an absolutely authentic source, states an agreement has already been reached for a long-term lease giving England the right to organise the islands as a naval base, build necessary fortifications and collect the income of the islands.
>
> "Political circles here regard the creation by England of a military and naval base on the islands as a gesture exclusively directed against Soviet Russia. Referring to the information in an editorial, the Pravda says that it supplies further proof of intrigues England carries on among the Baltic States against the Soviet Union."

I cannot verify this report; but there is no doubt that the recent British naval demonstration in the Baltic was to encourage the Baltic States in their anti-Russian policy and to intimate to Soviet Russia that the British Navy will act to protect British interests in the Baltic. Furthermore it is a fact, that Great Britain is supporting Roumania to

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German territories in the West as well as in the East. They contend that by signing the Pact, Germany will be doubly bound to respect the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, and thus will not be able to bring about any rectification of her boundaries and a union of German-Austria with Germany without violating the Security Pact voluntarily signed by Germany. It seems that the German statesmen who are advocating the Security Pact are following the same path as France did after 1871. France agreed to fulfil and did fulfil all the treaty of Frankfurt, but she began cultivating close understanding with other nations which resulted in Franco-Russian alliance and later on the Triple Entente and thus gained her point of recovering the lost territories. Some German statesmen hold that Germany should not only agree to fulfil the obligations of the Treaty of Versailles, but work for an Anglo-German understanding, as a stepping stone " to isolation of France in world politics " and then regain her lost territories through diplomatic pressure or a successful war.

increase her naval forces and lending every form of diplomatic support, so that Beserabia will remain a Roumanian territory. The Russians have reason to believe that the British efforts in increasing her naval strength in the Mediterranean can be directed against Russia as well as France in Europe and a step towards mobilisation against Japan and a threat to Turkey regarding the Mosul dispute. British tenacity to maintain her naval control over the Persian Gulf, is an indirect menace towards Russia. The British determination to increase their air forces in Asia, and to establish a formidable naval and air base at Singapore is a warning towards all Asiatic powers, especially Japan, Russia, China and France. According to the Russian point of view, the British Government, in the Baltic, in the Mediterranean, in the Persian Gulf, in the Pacific, and the Indian Oceans, are blocking every Russian outlet to the Sea. Soviet Russia craves for an outlet to the sea to-day just as much as did Tzarist Russia before the revolution. The form of government in Russia has changed, her internal policy and organisation has been radically modified; but the Russian national ambition has taken a more determined form, although it has less aggressive outward appearance, which is often the case with all Democratic Imperialisms of the world, including that of Great Britain.

While Soviet Russia feels that Great Britain is always barring her way to realise her national ambitions, Great Britain's anti-Russian policy is due to Russian efforts to undermine British power and prestige in the Orient. Soviet Russia for her own political reasons in the past supported Persia against England, and repudiated the Anglo-Russian agreement regarding Persia. She materially aided Turkey in her conflict against Greece who was a tool of Great Britain. She helped Afghanistan to assert her complete independence, and thus defeated the British policy of controlling Afghan Foreign affairs and reducing her to a virtual British dependency, like the Indian Native States. British statesmen including British Labour leaders such as Mr. Thomas and Ramsay Macdonald, have been complaining against Soviet intrigue in India. To-day, the British Government is face to face with the Soviet Government in its policy in China, and the Far East.

In the past Anglo-Russian rivalry was primarily due to British opposition to Russian expansion in the Orient threatening British supremacy in India.[1] It was to check the Russian expansion in the Mediterranean region, and the Middle East, that Britain at times supported Turkey against Russia. It was against the Russian advance to the Pacific, and to thwart the dominating Russian influence in the Court of Peking, that Britain made the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and supported Japan in the Russo-Japanese War.

Tzarist Russia is gone and Soviet Russia has taken its place; but there is no fundamental change of Russian national interests in matters of world politics. Tzarist Russia followed the policy of territorial expansion and direct action which came in conflict with British Imperial interests. The present Soviet Government not being anxious to take any risk for further territorial expansion, is not interested in a policy of annexation ; but it is using all its energy to consolidate the vast Russian Empire, rousing the masses for greater national efficiency and at the same time increasing its influence in world politics, especially over the Asian States by frustrating the designs of its rivals.

At the present moment the Soviet Government is following a vigorous policy in the Far East, the success of which must re-act against Britain in the Orient. The Soviet Government is fighting Great Britain through its activities in China. Chinese nationalist agitation against British and other foreign interests does not hurt Russia ; on the other hand, it materially increases Russian influence, in proportion to the success of the Chinese to weaken the political and economic hold of Great Britain and other Powers. As Great Britain patronised and aided the Arab leaders militarily and financially against Turkey, so, Soviet Russia, following the same method, is spending large sums to stimulate anti-British agitation in China and elsewhere.[1]

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[1] Das, Taraknath: India in World Politics, B. W. Huebsch (New York) 1924, (Second Edition).

It is rather fortunate for the Soviet Government that the present British foreign policy is anti-Japanese in spirit, and Japan is also facing enmity of the United States. This condition frees the Soviet Government from any fear of Japan supported by the British and American Governments as was the case before the Russo-Japanese war.

At present Soviet diplomacy in the Far East is, on the one hand to show friendliness both to China and Japan, and on the other hand, to do all that is necessary to keep Japan and China apart, so that these two nations will not be able to form a common policy in matters of national defence and foreign policy. The present-day Soviet support to China through the Chinese radicals is nothing but the repetition of the old Tzarist policy of aiding China through Li Hung Chang, against Japan, so that China and Japan would not make a common cause against Russia. While the Soviet Government is professing friendship towards China, it is very active in consolidating its supremacy in Mongolia, by reducing the latter country to a Russian Dependancy. The Soviet Government is also interested in securing Russian domination over Chinese Railways in Manchuria. In these respects there is not the least difference between the Soviet Policy and the Tzarist policy.

The present tendency of friendliness of Soviet Russia towards Japan is, in spirit, not different from the policy of

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[1] A recent Moscow despatch to the *London Times*, indicates that M. Karakhan, the Soviet Ambassador to China has reported an increase of Russian trade in China due to Soviet sympathy towards her, and Soviet Agents are now carrying on their propaganda from Chinese soil instead of from International settlements, like Shanghai.

Tzarist Russia as outlined by the late Count Witte after the Russo-Japanese War. It is nothing but Russo-Japanese co-operation to promote Russian interests and to oppose the American idea of international financial control of the Manchurian railways. The recent Russo-Japanese understanding has benefited Soviet Russia more than it has Japan; because by this agreement Russia has secured control over the northern half of the Sakhalin Island, while the lease of the oilfields of the northern Sakhalin to the Japanese has accentuated American-Japanese rivalry in the Pacific, which is an asset and safety valve for security of Russia in the Far East.

To-day Great Britain is at a disadvantage in the Far East; because she is not only opposed by Russia and China, but the British policy being anti-Japanese she has to calculate possible Japanese opposition. This situation is at the back of British enthusiasm for the so-called Security Pact, so that neither Germany nor France would oppose effectively British Foreign policy which is based upon the formula of "maintenance of British Imperial interest through the British control of the region from the Suez to Shanghai."

Great Britain is facing active opposition of Russia, China and Japan in the Far East. France also cannot favour the British naval policy in the Mediterranean and at Singapore. But, France cannot take any active part against Britain because of the Moroccan and Syrian situation and also from the fear of an Anglo-German combination against her. Great Britain has very cleverly adopted an apparently friendly attitude towards France, so that the latter would not in desperation join hands with Britain's avowed enemies. However, the only one nation upon whose support in the Orient and world politics at large Britain is especially counting, is the United States of America. The fact that the American Government has not recognised the Soviet Government, has influenced the policy of the British Tory Government to be aggressively hostile to Russia.

The Soviet Government is deeply concerned to win the good-will of the United States and to secure its recognition and friendship. One of the means adopted by the Soviet leaders, to accomplish this end, is to show preference to American capitalists in matters of offering valuable concessions. Recently the Harriman interests have been accorded the most valuable concession—monopolistic in character—to exploit the Manganese fields in the Chiatouri districts of Georgia, which will give an approximate profit of one hundred and twenty million $120,000,000 dollars to the Harriman interests and about $62,000,000 in royalties to the Soviet Government during the period of twenty years.[1]

The Soviet authorities are so anxious to secure the good-will of the American Government that even after the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese Agreement, several members of the Third Internationale have repeatedly given out the statement that Russia would prefer an understanding with the United States of America in place of the present Russo-Japanese Agreement. It is notorious that Russia first offered the Saghalin concessions to the Americans, but because the American Government did not recognize the Soviet Government so the concessions were given to the Japanese. Even M. Karakhan, the Soviet Ambassador to Peking, has repeatedly expressed the desire that Russiawould gladly co-operate with the United States in China, provided the American policy be for the interest of China.

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[1] It is interesting to note here that the so-called Communistic Government of Russia has not only in fact recognised private property in the land of the Russian Peasants, but has given out some five hundred concessions during the last few years to foreign capitalists. Regarding the Harriman concession as mentioned above, the following news items will be of great interest to those who blindly believe that the Soviet Government is going to abolish private property.

"*Moscow, June 12th.*—Representatives of the Soviet to-day signed the contract giving W. A. Harriman & Co. of New York the concession to exploit the rich Manganese mines at Chiatouri, Georgia."

"*Moscow, June 12th.*—M. Djerjinsky, head of the Supreme Economic Council signed the Harriman concession for the Government and George Tchitcherin, Minister of Foreign

It seems to us that Russia will undoubtedly support American proposals regarding an international conference for the solution of the problems of extra-territoriality in China. The principal motive behind this action is not that Russia believes in American profession of altruism towards China, but to create some difference between the United States and Great Britain on the one hand and also Great Britain and China on the other. The Soviet estimate of American altruism in world affairs has been well expressed in the following comment based upon an editorial in the Russian paper *Izvestia*:

"Discussing English policy in China in an editorial, *Izvestia* points out that the line of world policy of England is beginning radically to diverge from that of the United States towards China. It regards the American proposal for an international conference on affairs of China as acceptable to all Powers while England is held to be alone interested in complete suppression of the Chinese national movement and the carrying on there of a policy of extreme bloody repression.

Affairs countersigned it. John S. Elliot signed for the Harriman interests. The contract becomes operative within forty-five days, provided the Georgian Government in the meantime liquidates the present state monopoly for the export of Manganese which now controls the output of the Chiatouri mines. When this is done, the $1,000,000 in cash advanced by the American interests against the first year's royalties will become available through Lloyd's Bank in London. In a statement to the Associated Press, Djerjinsky said :—

"I am delighted that the negotiations which lasted longer than a year and which were fraught with many difficulties, finally have borne fruit. *I am confident that the contract will prove to be the forerunner of other projects of similar kind. We welcome American capital and American business men to Russia, and will accord every facility and consideration.*"

"According to previous Moscow despatches the concession granted to the Harriman interests will give them control for twenty years of the Manganese fields in the Chiatouri district of Georgia, said to be the largest and most productive of their kind in the world. The Soviet Government officials have estimated that Russia will get a minimum of about $62,000,000 in royalties over the period and that *the Harriman interests will profit to the extent of $120,000,000. The concession is described as largest and the most important mining award ever granted by the Soviet Government.* It marks the first entry of American business interests into Soviet Russia on a large scale. A new American corporation will be organised to develop the properties, but no public offering of securities is contemplated. Associated in the financing will be certain Europeans. The Harrimans will install modern equipment, increase the carrying capacity of the railroad, and provide adequate ore-loading facilities at the port of Poti. These improvements, it is stated, which will effect a material saving, will cost approximately $4,000,000 and will require several years to complete."—*New York Times* of June 13, 1925.

"Recapitulating further on America's policy, *Izvestia* writes: 'After a long voluntary isolation, America is now gradually entering on the international political arena, slowly but surely conquering for herself a supreme world situation which she is trying to consolidate everywhere. Somewhere she goes together with England but there is evidence that soon England will find herself in the position of the Moor who realized his work was done. America's policy is more and more receiving the character of aggressive pacifism, under a mask under which, as in the case of Dawe's system, she consolidates her economic, military and naval supremacy. By means of humanitarian slogans she undermines both her adherents and adversaries working for her own supremacy.'"

If the so-called "Security Pact" which is so warmly supported by the British Government becomes an accomplished fact (and in spite of serious opposition to the idea of the Security Pact in Germany, there is every possibility that Germany will agree to sign it), it would mean a great diplomatic victory for Britain, assuring her, at least for the present, that she has nothing to fear from France or Germany. Then she will feel free to use her full pressure in the Orient against Russia, China and Japan, individually or collectively.

The Russian statesmen see that if the Security Pact be an accomplished fact, it may hurt Russia. So the very day Dr. Stresseman received the Note of the Allied Powers for a Minister's Conference at the end of September or the first week of October, it was reported in Paris that M. Krassin, the Soviet Ambassador had presented an idea of Franco-Russian Agreement including Asia. By this agreement Russia will agree to pay 50% of the Russian bonds held by the French people, and France would give back the Russian fleet (so-called Wrangle fleet) which is now under French possession. It has been also reported that Soviet Russia is willing to make an Agreement with Poland and Czecho-Slavia and another agreement with Italy and Roumania regarding Besarabia. The Special Correspondent of the London *Times* from Geneva writes: "Apart frm the eagerness to spoil play in a big European enterprise for peace, the Bolshevists are certainly anxious to insure themselves provisionally on their western frontiers, in order to devote their main efforts to revolutionary schemes in Asia. Of this feature of their present policy the Turkish delegation that is now negotiating on the Mosul question in Geneva is fully aware."[1]

It is practically impossible to predict any definite policy in matters of international politics, because policy changes like a swinging pendulum, although the ultimate idea remains constant. However, we venture to predict that under the existing conditions, the line of policy to be followed by Great Britain would be, to have a common policy with the United States of America and face Russia, Japan and China separately and frustrating every move of a combined action between these three nations, and if possible winning over one of them to the side of Anglo-American diplomacy.

There is no reason to believe that Britain will make a serious effort to win over Russia and succeed in the attempt, when she is following the present anti-Russian policy. It will be a very unexpected thing, if Anglo-American statesmen decide to form an Anglo-American-Japanese Understanding against Russia. The American statesmen will reject the very idea of it, because it would enormously strengthen Japan, politically, navally and militarily, and they (Anglo-American statesmen) will have to give up *the policy of isolation of Japan* which is being pursued by them persistently and systematically. Thus it seems certain that Anglo-American statesmen will try to win China to their side.

British statesmen will be forced to change their present policy in China and have to accept American leadership, as they did when John Hay declared the "Open Door Policy." It is quite possible that if Great Britain follows American policy regarding China, then through American leadership, the Anglo-American statesmen will succeed in winning China to their side. The speech of Mr. Baldwin, the British Premier, before the China Society in London on September 18th, 1925, foreshadows that Britain will change her policy towards China and act with America. However, if the Anglo-American statesmen can win over China on their side, this will not abate the existing Anglo-Russian rivalry, on the contrary it will be accentuated. As things stand in world politics, it can be safely asserted that the present Anglo-Russian rivalry, within a few years will result in an Anglo-Russian War or a World War in which Russia and Great Britain will be on opposite sides.[1]

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[1] London *Times*—Sept. 18th 1925.

In the diplomatic conflict that is now raging between Britain and Russia, it is apparent that Britain is winning in the European arena while Russia is combating Britain's anti-Russian policy by a vigorous attack in the Orient. It may be said that whatever success Britain may achieve in European politics against Russia, it is rather negative; because there is no possibility of any combination of Powers in Europe which will be able to crush Soviet Russia, so long as the Soviet Government can concentrate its strength on one front only. Soviet Russia's largest front is not in Europe, but it is in Asia, in the East and South. Thus the question of national security has forced Soviet Russia to be friendly with Asiatic Powers whose frontiers touch those of hers. The Soviet leaders are rousing the Asiatic Powers against Britain to fight their own battle against the latter, through Asiatic support. Thus the Soviet policy in Asia is purely opportunistic and to preserve her national interest, and devoid of any tinge of altruism which is so often heralded by the leaders of Soviet Russia. It is the game of Real Politics in international relations; and none can blame them for this grand-stand play.

Soviet Russia is alert and has taken steps to increase her naval power in the Far East (and also in the Black Sea region, if that is possible). The following dispatch is the Russian answer to British naval policy which is regarded by the Soviet leaders as anti-Russian:—

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[1] M. Felix Valyi, the French authority on World Politics holds that the British Empire in Asia may be destroyed through the hatred of the Asian people against British Imperialism and exploitation.

(See the Proceedings of the Institute of Politics (1925) at Williamstown (Mass) U.S.A.

> "*Belgrade, September 9, 1925.*—Early next month a Soviet naval squadron will start on a world cruise, according to information received here from Moscow. The ships will be the dreadnought Marat (formerly Petropavlosky), the cruisers Ravotcy, Iljitch, and Communist (formerly Novik) and will be under the command of Admiral Wasilieff.
>
> "The fleet is to call at Riga, Stettin, Toulon, Genoa, the Italian ports on the Adriatic and Constantinople. If in the meantime Turkey has assented to strengthening of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea the squadron will proceed to Sebastopol, where the Marat will remain. Otherwise the route from Constantinople will be *viâ* Gibraltar, Dakar, South Africa, Madagascar, Ceylon and Japan to Vladivostok, where it will be stationed as a permanent reinforcement of the Russian naval forces in the Far East."

The presence of the Russian fleet in French ports will undoubtedly rouse French imagination as to the value of Russian friendship; it will certainly bring back in the minds of the French people and statesmen the memory of the boons of the Franco-Russian Alliance—what it did for France in the past, particularly during the Morocco Crisis and the World War. A friendly call of the Russian fleet in the Italian ports[1] will convince the Italians that these two nations have much in common to curb the inordinate ambition of Roumania, and also they have common interest to protect in the Mediterranean. The visit of the Russian fleet to Constantinople may serve as an encouragement to the Turks to take a vigorous stand against the British attitude on the Mosul question. None should forget that the Russo-Turkish agreement was a factor in the defeat of Greece by Turkey which resulted in the signing of the Treaty of Lussane which has made the Angora Government more powerful than ever before.

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[1] A Rome despatch of Sept. 22 to Paris discloses that the Facist Press is in favour of a Mediterranean Entente comprising Italy and Russia. Premier Mussolini is reported to be in favour of such a pact.

Strengthening of Russian naval power at Vladivostok will certainly result in increasing her prestige in China, and it will be a forerunner of a vigorous and positive policy in the Far East, as was the case after 1895 when the Russian fleet appeared in the Pacific and after the Sino-Japanese War Russia with the support of France and Germany interposed in favour of China and forced Japan to revise the first treaty of Simonosaki. Increasing the naval strength of Russia in the Far East may be a part of the recently concluded Russo-Japanese Agreement; it may even induce the anti-Japanese American statesmen to recognise the Soviet Government with the expectation that Russia will co-operate with America against Japan.

Whatever may be the final result, it is certain that this move will force other nations to take notice of Russia. It will enable the Soviet Government to assert that in the future settlements of "the problems of the Pacific" Russia must not be ignored; and undoubtedly it will rouse greater hostility of Britain against the growing power of Russia in the Orient.

Without going into details, it can be asserted that in future international affairs, Germany in Europe and India in Asia, will become very important factors. If the present diplomatic conflict between Russia and Britain breaks into a war, what will be the position of the members of the League of Nations including India and Germany (the latter may become a member of the League of Nations in near future)? What will be the attitude of the United States of America in such an emergency? Will the United States again go to war in support of the British Empire?

As Anglo-Russian rivalry in World Politics is a fact to-day, and as it is centred in the Orient, will not India, in case of a war, have to bear the major burden to save the British Empire in Asia? Will it be to her interest to go to another war? What will be the price she must ask in advance and secure before she takes any side in the conflict? Will she be able to remain neutral, if it be the best thing for her, to serve her national interest? Is India prepared to do so? Is India prepared to take charge of her national defence in any case, and particularly to enforce the policy of armed neutrality? These questions may be superfluous for Indian statesmen to consider to-day because India has no voice in the matter of controlling her Foreign Policy and National Defence. Indian statesmen even to-day think that the question of self-government of India is a matter of India's internal affairs and they must not bother about the serious problems of national defence and international relations; but they forget that the internal situation of a country is always and very largely influenced by its foreign relations and the condition of national defence. To secure real self-government, India must have control of her Foreign Relations and National Defence; and the question of Anglo-Russian rivalry among other present factors in international relations, should receive earnest consideration of Indian statesmen and the British rulers of India.

TARAKNATH DAS

THE CALL

There's something so fine in the morning,
There's a smell in the air like wine;
And my heart becomes filled with longing
To stretch out this soul of mine!
And my pulses beat with a new desire
To fly from this city of stone,
And take to the road of adventure
Inviting me far for to roam.
I know that the road is hard but free,
And some folk are better at home
For they're deaf to the call of the sky and sea,
And blind to the beauty of wind and foam.
But I long for the lure of the venturesome way,
And I hear the wild song in the fragrant air;
So I'm off in the dawn, at break of day
To follow the call, be it foul or fair.

LILY S. ANDERSON

ESPIONAGE IN THE HINDU SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION

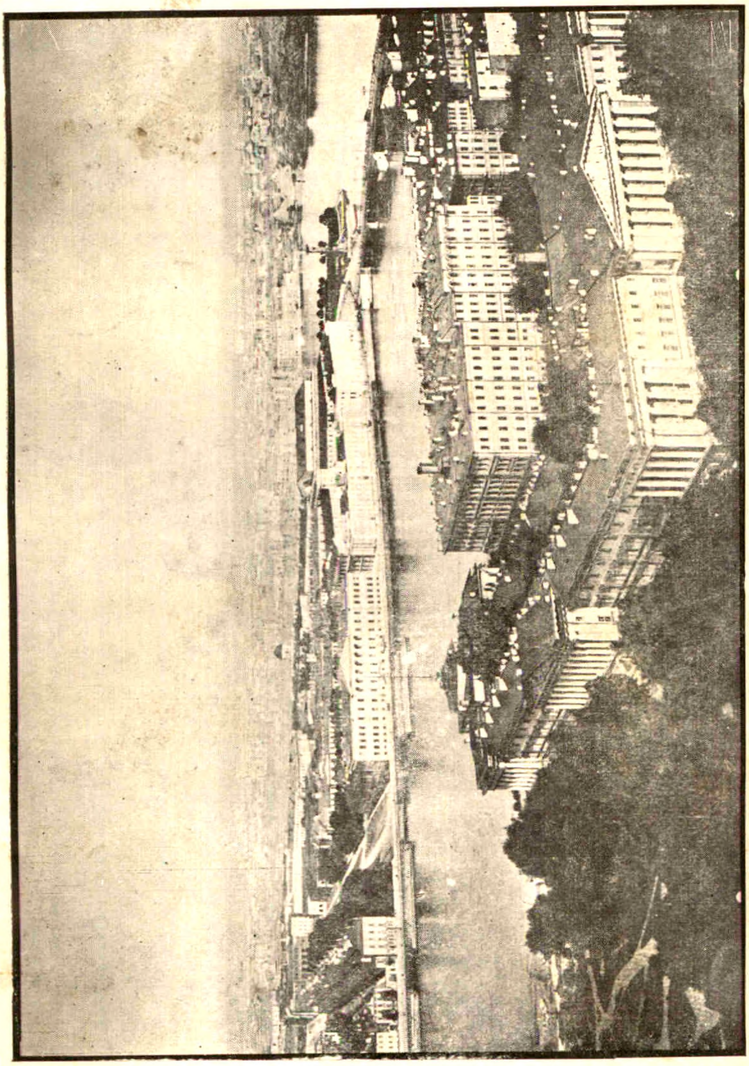
(An Addendum)

Page, 68, l. 9 for *mahāmāyras* read *mahāmātyas*,
„ 69, l. 26 „ *Dharmastham* „ *Dharmastha*,
„ 70, l. 22 }
„ 80, l. 13 } for *theives* read *thieves*,
„ 76, l. 6 for *mlecchaḥjātaya* read *mlecchajātayaḥ*,
„ 77, l. 3 „ *mahāmāyras* „ *mahāmātras*,
„ 79, l. 21 „ *was* read *were*,
„ 80, l. 32 „ *made* „ *taken*,
„ 83, l. 2 „ *to* „ *of*,
„ 83, l. 15 „ *vākyaiarthavidyāni* read *vākyamarthavidām*,
„ 86, l. 3 „ *vahiscearḥ* read *vahiścarāḥ*,
„ 86, l. 23 „ *Pañchālas* „ *Matsyas*, and
„ 88 l. 27 „ *Mṛcchakaṭika* read *Mudrārākṣasa*.

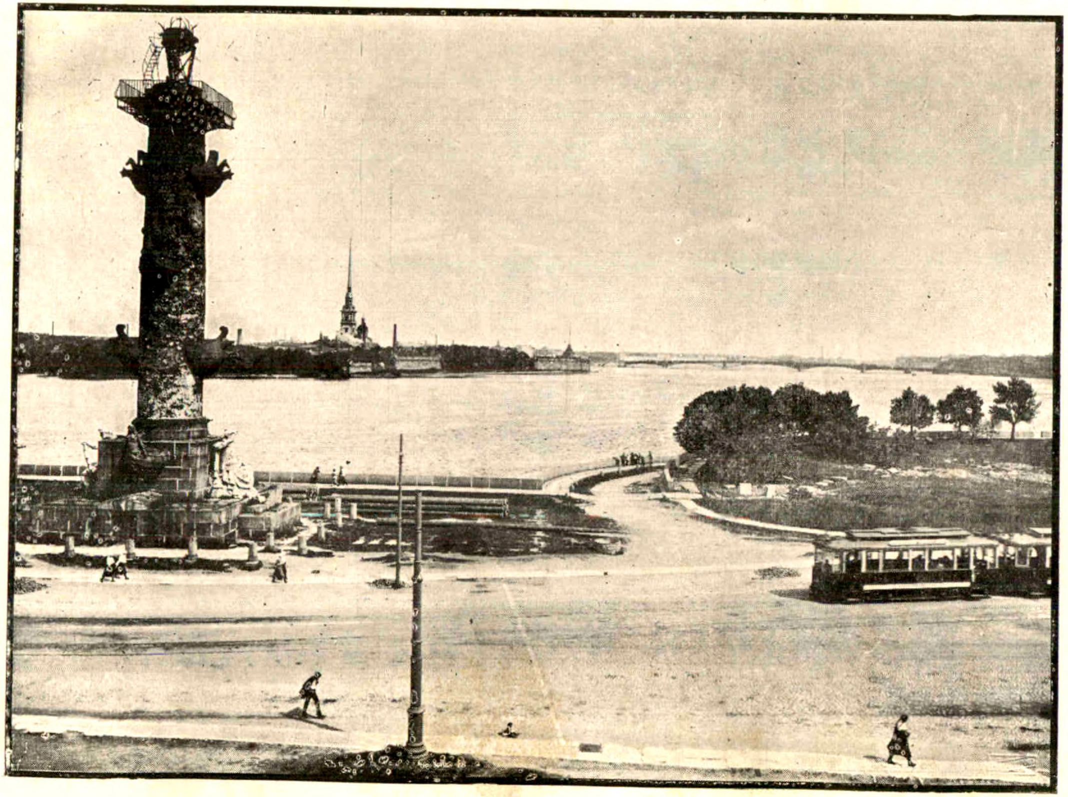
Also transfer the word *pānāgāreṣu* from the end of line 27 on page 85 to the beginning of the next line, and add the word *ca* before *kupyeṣu* in line 29 on the same page.

H. C. R.

LENINGRAD



Leningrad showing the *Neva* from the Dome of St, Isaac's Church.



Another view of the *Neva* and Leningrad.

Reviews

"**Pen and Ink**"—A book of talks on the writing of English Prose —by Guy N. Pocock (J. M. Dent & Sons, 2*s.* 6*d.* net).

The greatest recommendation of this useful volume of instructive hints is the writer's eminently *practical* aim and method. English prose in its large variety of forms is carefully illustrated and the author has rightly aimed at "suggesting and stimulating" instead of laying down any hard and fast law or rule of composition. Towards the end we have ten studies of well-selected modern writers like Kipling, Joseph Conrad, Kenneth Grahame, W. H. Hudson, Wells, Masefield as a sea-poet, and Hankin and Galsworthy as dramatic artists which are really illuminating. We particularly appreciate the little essays on the Writing of Short Stories, Writing of Plays, Criticism and Humour in the Contemporary Essay. This small volume is well worth careful reading.

J. G. B.

"**Selected Essays**"—by Frederic Harrison with an introduction by Amarnath Jha, M.A. (Macmillan, 1925).

It is a handy volume in which the pieces selected show judgment and taste. The essay on the Use of History is about the best in the series and then come the four essays on such prominent figures in literature as Gibbon, Arnold, Ruskin and Tennyson written in Harrison's best style. The volume concludes judiciously with a survey of the movement of thought in the last two centuries and the 4th section of the Introduction contains a balanced estimate of Harrison's powers as a prose writer. It is expected that this small volume will appeal to all lovers of good literature.

J. G. B.

"**John Dryden**"—with an Introduction by J. St. Loe Strachey and "**William Cowper**," with an Introduction by John Bailey, are really welcome additions to a very useful series of the best selected pieces from the works of representative poets of which the size, print and general get-up particularly commend them to the general reader. The poets concerned are here represented with literary discrimination and critical judgment. The editor has not overburdened his suggestive introduction by details about Dryden the man and has within a narrow compass given us something valuable regarding his poetry. Eighteenth Century poetry is not much read now-a-days and distinct service is rendered by such condensation of the best production of a poet like Dryden whom without real loss no student of English poetry can neglect. Cowper's Olney Hymns are not generally within easy reach and a dozen well chosen hymns included in the second volume considerably enhance its value. The short introduction to this volume is very ably written showing as it does within its very limited space the sharp contrast between Pope and Cowper and the nature of the important revolution in poetry that took place in the last quarter of the eighteenth century to which Cowper's contribution was not negligible. **Messrs. Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd.** (London and Edinburgh) are to be congratulated on the issue of two such volumes of poetry.

J. G. B.

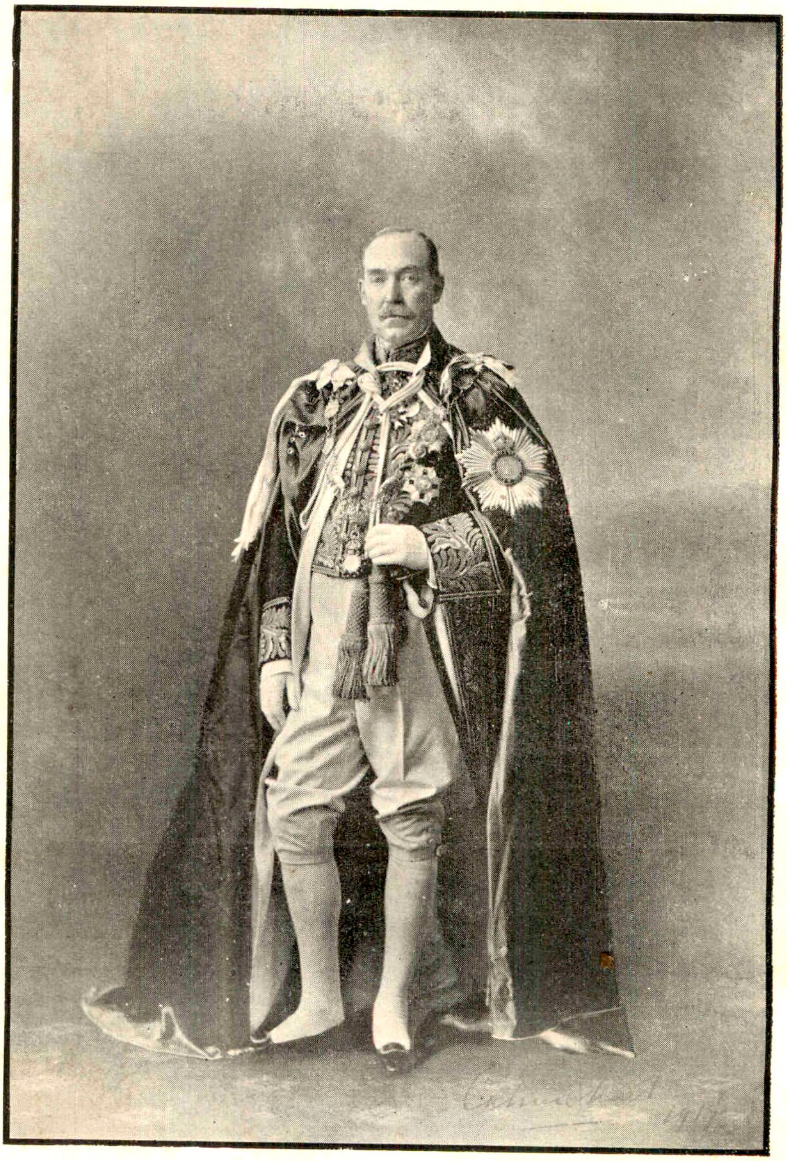
"Arpana"—by M. Sriramamurty (S. V. V. Press, Vizianagram, 1922), who seems to be a devoted follower of Ramkrishna Paramhansa, is a slender volume of ardent prayers and quiet meditations in very simple prose born, as the author with appropriate modesty claims, of sincere religious feeling bound to appeal to every one. These short prose pieces pulsate with longings of a deep spiritual experience and convince us of the writer's perfect self-surrender.

J. G. B.

The Groundwork of Economics—by Radhakamal Mukherjee, M.A., Ph.D., Prof. of Economics and Sociology, Lucknow University—Published by Longmans & Co., pp. 218. Price Rs. 3.

Dr. Radhakamal's book on the "Groundwork of Economics" is probably known to some of the *Review* readers already. It ought to be circulated broadcast over the country for no abler treatment of some of our economic problems has appeared. From the rigid standpoint of the student the arrangement may not be remarkably well-done but this detracts nothing from the general effect the book produces on the readers. He can well claim to have "humanised economics" in this little book. The book opens by a glance at the primitive origin of man who must doubtless have improved his position by taking a leaf out of the book of the social ways and the economic habits of the animal world surrounding him. Man like the animal begins to store capital but unfortunately there is very often a misuse of capital producing tremendous consequences on the community. The instincts of man are generally thwarted leading to the creation of class warfare and antagonism which spreads through the ranks of the society and mars social solidarity. This is what capitalistic industrialism has done. The factors of production are then discussed but in a characteristically new manner. For remedying the poverty of the peasantry he rightly advocates the "art of new living" and as William Archer says "they must learn to want more wants." Following the footsteps of Dr. Rabindranath he points out that the anti-social activities of the richer classes which tend to follow the morbid path of exploiting their weaker neighbours have to be curbed. The newer and more productive ways of utilising land are indicated so that the evils arising out of the density of the population might be mitigated. Discussing the human factor he points out that man is "a food motor" and the efficiency of the human being depends largely on the quality and the quantity of nutritious foodstuffs taken by him. A weak race is absolutely useless for political or economic strife. Dr. Rabindranath, too, very often asserts *nayamatma balahinena labyah.* Coming to land, the system of land tenures and their effects on the agricultural labourers have been pointed out. High prices, increasing pressure of population on the soil, the opening up of the country as a result of the development of the means of communications, the increasing play of the inexorable L. of D.R. and the increasing number of alternative uses of land are pointed out as the causes for the high rents. This is followed by a chapter on the agricultural indebtedness. The next chapter deals with the recent tendencies in the field of capital concentration. Prices and wages are next discussed and the influence of the international factor on domestic prices and the wage-level is brought out clearly by the illustration of the tea industry during the days of 1918-20. Pages 116-147 are devoted to a discussion of the agrarian problem and the introduction of the scientific farming, economic holdings, the due supply of capital and the co-operative organisation of small farmers are held out as promising remedies. A short chapter is devoted to the evils of urbanism and the existing tendency known as rural exodus. This leads to a discussion of the rural reconstruction problem and the author's keen grasp of the latest experiments made in foreign countries to revive interest in rural life has been of much use to him in discussing the problem of our "decaying village." The last but one chapter deals with the present-day labour situation and once more there is a kaleidoscopic survey of the main problems of wages, hours of work, conditions of living, etc., which are discussed within a short space and in a compact manner. The last chapter gives the author's proposed remedies to secure the economic development of the country. He yearns for a movement similar to the "Green rising" of the West and the retention of the small industries in the country by developing hydro-electric power as in Sweden and Switzerland. This is but a running summary of the first-rate work pulsating with much interest. His valuable and interesting studies of our agrarian problem and the situation of the industrial labourer are surely some of the best expositions we have up to the present. We have an instance of academic wisdom which has no patience with the dry-as-dust expositions of the previous writers whose only merit for consideration lies in the fact that they have faithfully, perhaps slavishly, copied the information of the ponderous tomes known as blue-books. Barring certain aspects which ought to have received greater attention from the hands of the author the book is an admirably sympathetic study and when our society is faced with the hard task of reconstruction such studies as these are the very material we want. It is needless to state that it would be a guide to students for understanding certain phases of our social economy.

B. RAMACHANDRA RAU



THOMAS DAVID GIBSON-CARMICHAEL, BARON OF SKIRLING

Ourselves

THE LATE LORD CARMICHAEL.

We are deeply grieved to hear of the death of the Rt. Hon'ble Baron Carmichael of Skirling, the First Governor of Bengal and one of our Rectors, last month at the comparatively early age of 64 years. Many of us have a vivid recollection of the Royal Proclamation about the annulment of the partition of Bengal, the transference of the capital of British India from Calcutta to Delhi, and the announcement of the creation of Bengal as a presidency under a provincial governor. His Imperial Majesty promised to appoint a governor who would command the confidence of the people of the province, and whose sympathies towards Indian aspirations were quite well known. Expectation ran high in Indian quarters, and the name of Sir K. G. Gupta was frequently associated with the new post. People, however, were not long kept in suspense and Lord Carmichael took the reins of office on April 1,1912. Naturally enough, great hopes were entertained of the new governor as one of the political legatees of Gladstone. But all these high hopes were not realised. As in the case of his chief, the fine drawn morality of Lord Carmichael sometimes degenerated into unctuousness and like him he always remembered his native country and occasionally forgot the province which claimed his special attention.

University education in Bengal, however, has pleasanter memories of Lord Carmichael. But for the staunch support of the Governor of Bengal, the post-graduate scheme of Sir Asutosh Mookerji would never have proved a success. Some of us have a vivid recollection of the innocent resolution which Mr. H. R. James of the Presidency College moved in the Senate for the postponement of the proposed appointments to the teaching staff in the University only for a fortnight—the tenure of office of Sir Asutosh Mookerji, as Vice Chancellor was to have run out in the meantime. We remember the *benami* telegram which was sent out from the headquarters and the *fiat lux* which was about to be issued from high Olympus—official fiats which have become so painfully frequent in our academic life. But the Rector stood firm, and the first great steps in the organisation of the post-graduate studies were taken.

Bengal will also remember Lord Carmichael gratefully because of the unstinted support which he offered to the promoters of the first non-official Medical College in India, which bears his name to-day. If Voltaire's famous paradox could be applied to "vested interests" in India, the enormity of Lord Carmichael's efforts would be readily appreciated and frankly admired. May his soul rest in peace!

* * * *

THE LATE MR. DWIJENDRANATH TAGORE.

In the death of Dwijendranath Tagore at the ripe old age of 87, Bengal loses a "recluse poet," a philosopher, a scholar and a musician. Steeped in deep meditation in the shady groves of the *Santiniketan* for thirty long years, fighting hard against the allurements of an inheritance, Dwijendranath's life was one long tale of devotion to the Goddess of Learning. He has, indeed, been overshadowed by his world-famous younger brother, but his name will yet find a niche in the pantheon of Indian scholarship and literary eminence. Says his brother in his *Reminiscences* about him :

"His immense capacity for enjoyment like the breezes of spring helped poetry to sprout .....Like the superabounding mango flowers, which carpet the shade of the mango topes in spring time, the rejected pages of his *Dream Journey* were to be found scattered all over the house. Had any one preserved them they would have been to-day a basketful of flowers adorning our Bengali literature."

* * * *

THE LATE MAHARAJA JAGADINDRANATH.

Bengal has to mourn the loss of yet another of her cultured sons, Maharaja Jagadindranath Ray of Natore. A descendant of Rani Bhabani whose name is a household word in Bengal, the Maharaja combined in his person affability of manners and literary charm. He was not riveted to old aristocratic. dogmas A political reformer in the "pre-Montagu-Chelmsford days" the Maharaja demonstrated throughout his life independence of character and maintained the best traditions of his ancient house. Our respectful condolence to the members of the bereaved family.

* * * *

THE LATE PROFESSOR SIR PAUL VINOGRADOFF.

The world of scholarship has sustained a heavy loss owing to the death of Sir Paul Vinogradoff, Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence, Oxford University, for twenty-two years. Prof. Vinogradoff came out to India twelve years ago as one of our Tagore Professors and delivered a very interesting course of lectures to our students and professors.

* * * *

DR. SASIBHUSAN MALI.

Our congratulations to Mr. Sasibhusan Mali, M.Sc., who has just been admitted to the degree of D.Sc. The Board of Examiners consisted of the following gentlemen :

Prof. F. G. Donnan, F.R.S.
Prof. J. C. Phillip, F.R.S.
Prof. Nilratan Dhar, D.Sc.

* * * *

DR. SATYACHARAN LAW AND DR. BHANUBHUSAN DAS GUPTA.

Our felicitations are also due to Mr. Satyacharan Law, M.A., and Mr. Bhanubhusan Dasgupta, M.A., of the Presidency College, and of the department of Post-Graduate Studies in Arts who were admitted to the degree of Ph.D. Dr. Satyacharan Law is a scion of the famous Law family of Calcutta, and we are anxiously looking forward to the day when the field of scholarship will be extended further by his original investigations. The Board of Examiners which looked over his thesis consisted of the following gentlemen:

Sir Nilratan Sircar, Kt., M.A., M.D., LL.D., D.C.L.
Dr. Baini Prasad, D.Sc., F.Z.S.
Dr. Karamnarain Bahl, D.Sc.

Dr. Bhanubhusan Dasgupta is one of the brilliant teachers of the Presidency College, who has just been appointed, on the recommendation of the Appointments Board, a lecturer in Economics in the Post-Graduate Department of the Calcutta University. His thesis was on "Paper currency in India, a historical and critical study"—a subject of absorbing interest to-day. The following Board of Examiners adjudged his thesis:

Mr. G. Findlay Shirras, M.A., F.S.S.
Mr. J. M. Keynes, M.A., C.B.
Mr. S. N. Pochkhanawalla.

* * * *

DR. BINODEBEHARI DATTA.

We record with pleasure the achievements of yet another distinguished scholar, Mr. Binodebehari Datta, M.A., B.L., whose thesis on "Town planning in Ancient India" was approved by a Board of Examiners composed of

Prof. Patrick Geddes, M.A.
Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D.
Mr. P. K. Acharyya, D.Litt.

and Mr. Datta has been admitted to the degree of Ph.D.

* * * *

PREMCHAND ROYCHAND STUDENTSHIPS.

The Premchand Roychand Studentship in literary subjects for 1924 was divided equally among the following candidates:

(*i*) Mr. Bhanubhushan Dasgupta.
(*ii*) ,, Sukumar Sen.
(*iii*) ,, Hirendralal Dey.
(*iv*) ,, Sarojkumar Das.

All of them are distinguished scholars of this University, and we confess, any Board of Examiners, howsoever discriminating it might be, would find it very difficult to adjudge between such rival merits, and institute comparison between the original work produced on diverse subjects having no affinity whatsoever with each other. The Premchand Roychand Studentship is still regarded as the blue ribbon of this University in spite of malignant denunciation, and we suggest that the Syndicate do forthwith change the rules relating to the award of the Studentship so that it might be possible to award the scholarship to one who is pre-eminent among his rivals.

* * * *

GRIFFITH MEMORIAL PRIZE.

The same suggestion might with greater force be pressed on the attention of the authorities in yet another direction—in the matter of the award of the Griffith Memorial Prize for 1924 which is to the value of Rs. 900 only. We merely quote the report of the Board of Examiners:

"We recommend that each of the three candidates for the prize be awarded one-third of the prize.

1. Dr. N. K. Bose, M.Sc., Ph.D. (Gottingen).	Aeroplane, Motion Theory and its application.
2. Mr. Satyendra Kumar Ghosh, M.Sc.	(*a*) Collision of L-particles with Helium Atoms. (*b*) Passage of r-ray through Helium. (*c*) On the curvature B-particle tracks. (*d*) On the Compton Effect. (*e*) Tracks of L-particles in Helium (*Joint paper*). (*f*) On photographing the Ionization Tracks of the Rest Atoms of Radioactive elements (*Joint paper*).
3. Mr. H. N. Datta, M.Sc.	(*a*) On a theorem of Lio relating to the theory of Intermediate Integrals of Partial differential equations of the second order. (*b*) On surfaces with plane lines of curvature.

GANESH PRASAD.
N. M. BASU.
S. K. MITRA.

We frankly confess it is impossible to discover from the above a common basis for comparison.

* * * *

THE RITCHIE PRIZE AND PARBATICHARAN GOLD MEDAL.

On the results of the Final B.L. and Intermediate B.L. Examinations held in July, 1925, the Ritchie Prize and the Parbaticharan Gold Medal were awarded to

(*i*) Susilkumar Mukerjee—(Non-collegiate Student)
(*ii*) Sailendrakumar Raychaudhury (University Law College).

* * * *

ELECTION OF FELLOWS BY REGISTERED GRADUATES.

Our congratulations to Mr. Ramaprosad Mookerjee, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Ray and Prof. Hiralal Haldar on their election to the Senate from the constituency of Registered Graduates. The number of voting papers issued was 472; the number of votes recorded was 434 and the votes recorded against the name of each of the candidates were as follows:—

1.	Mr. Ramaprosad Mookerjee	419
2.	Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy	380
3.	Professor Hiralal Haldar	373
4.	Rai Bahadur Harendranath Das	86

* * * *

THE SYNDICATE FOR 1926-27.

The Syndicate for the year 1926-27 has been constituted as follows:

Elected by the Senate.

Dr. W. S. Urquhart
Principal H. C. Maitra
Khan Bahadur Mr. Ashanulla
Sir Nilratan Sircar.

Elected by the Faculty of Arts.

Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee
Mr. Syamaprosad Mookerjee
Mr. Manmathanath Ray
Professor Pramathanath Banerjea

Elected by the Faculty of Science.

Mr. S. C. Mahalanabis
Professor Praphulla Chandra Mitter

Elected by the Faculty of Law.

Mr. Birajmohan Majumdar
Mr. Ramaprosad Mookerjee

Elected by the Faculty of Medicine.

Lt.-Col. F. A. F. Barnardo
Principal Kedarnath Das

Elected by the Faculty of Engineering.

Principal T. H. Richardson

* * * *

THE BOARD OF ACCOUNTS.

The Board of Accounts for the year 1926-27 was constituted as follows :

(1) Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy—*President*
(2) Mr. J. C. Mitter
(3) Principal P. G. Bridge

* * * *

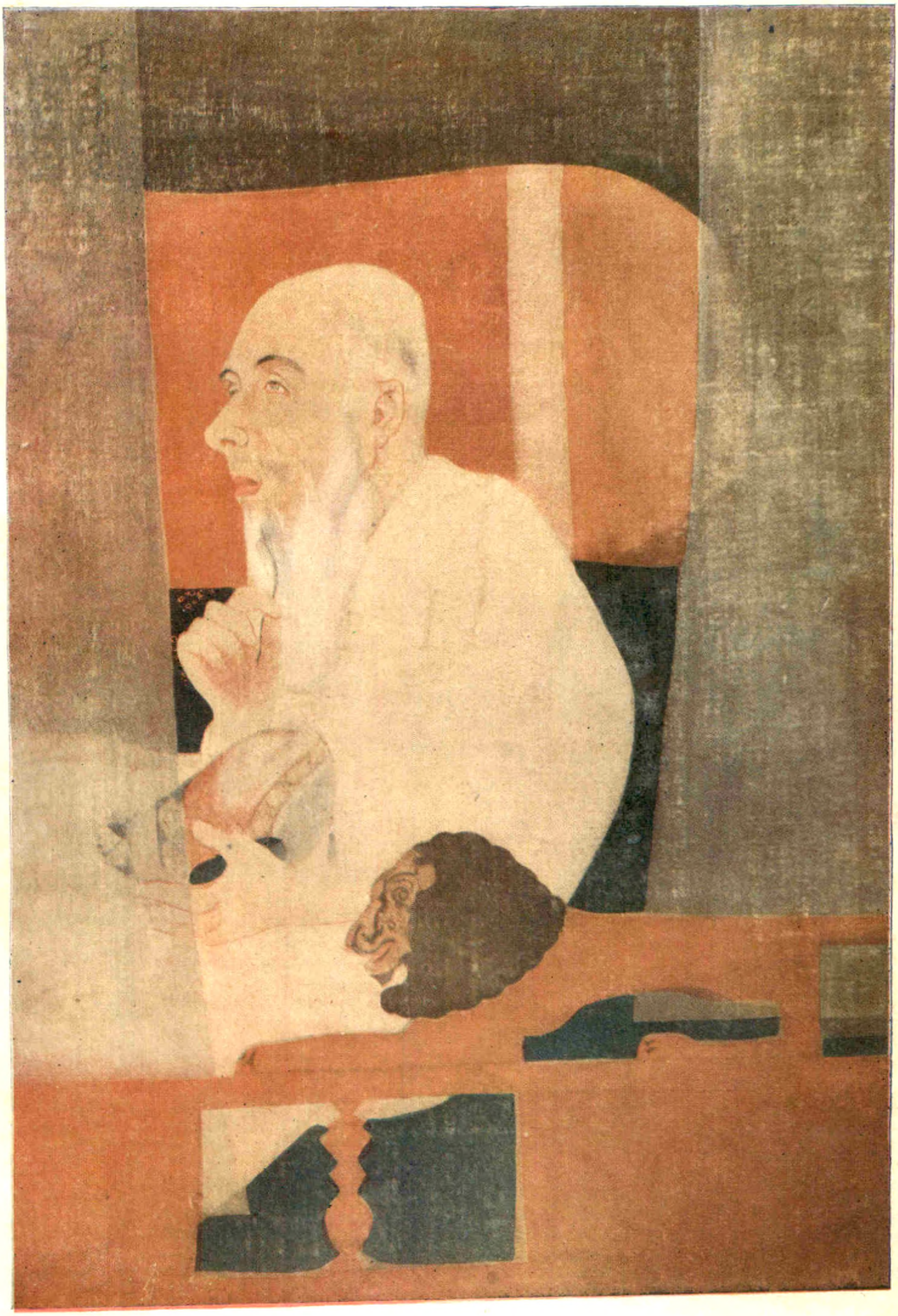
PROFESSOR JOSE GALVEZ.

Professor Jose Galvez, Director of English and German Studies in the State University of Santiago in Chile, and Exchange Professor in the Universities of California and Berlin, came to Calcutta in course of a visit to India. The Secretary of the Council of Post-Graduate Studies in Arts arranged for two lectures by Dr. Galvez before the students of the University on 7th and 8th January last. The first lecture was on Chile—the Country, its People, its History, its Culture, its Industries—and it was illustrated by a bioscope film. The second lecture was on the Education System of Chile. Professor Galvez who spoke with an American accent, made his subject most interesting, and his lectures were followed by an appreciative audience of over two hundred students each day. At the end of his lectures Dr. Galvez wanted the students to ask him questions, and on the second day he himself asked questions on the social, religious, intellectual and political life of modern India, and this led to a lively discussion, some of the members of the staff who were present taking part in it. The questions asked by the students were generally to obtain information about Chile, but quite a number of them were on the condition of the American Indians in Chile and on the Professor's impressions of India, as well as on what they thought in Chile of things in India. The interest in the lectures was unflagging and on each day the meetings were continued till past 8-30 P.M. The Professor said he had come to India to see the land and the people with his own eyes, and he was delighted to meet the students so closely. He was as much pleased with his audience as his audience was with him, and in his genial personality the students and others present came in touch with a man of truly wide views and a sympathiser with India who had a genuine respect for the thought and culture of the country; and the impression left by the Professor on the minds of most of the audience was that he certainly was one of that small band of scholars and cultured men who are to be found in all countries at the present day, and are in their own spheres silently but surely working for the better understanding and sympathy among peoples and for the establishment of peace and friendship among nations.

* * * *

MR. J. C. GHOSH AND MR. H. C. MOOKERJEE.

It is a matter of great satisfaction to us that the Senate in its Annual Meeting held on the 30th January last on the recommendation of the Syndicate reappointed the present Registrar Mr. J. C. Ghosh, M.A., and the Inspector of Colleges, Mr. H. C. Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., for a further period of five years. Both the gentlemen enjoy great reputation for conscientous discharge of their duties. They are, moreover, very popular with all classes of people for their tact and geniality of manners. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that the proposal for the extension of their period of service was accepted unanimously.



ABU HOSSAIN

Artist—Prof. Abanindranath Tagore, D.Lit.]

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MARCH, 1926

THE SEARCH FOR A PHILOSOPHY IN THE LAST HALF-CENTURY

Philosophy is commonly said to consist in the interpretation of experience. By interpreting experience is meant describing it to us and accounting for everything in it in such a way that we can understand what it is and what it means. The interpretation commonly begins with assuming a world of things existing outside and independent of the interpreting mind. The purpose of philosophy, then, is to help us to understand both the world and the mind which interprets it.

But how then, is understanding itself to be understood? Or, in what does understanding the world consist? Two different opinions on this subject and consequently two different philosophies have been widely held during the last half-century.

I

Realistic Interpretations.

The common tendency has been to begin by assuming the reality of the material world just as it appears to the senses and to explain everything else in ways consistent with that fundamental belief. Hence—

(*a*) *The mechanical interpretation.*—Many have thought that the world can be understood only from the analogy of machinery. We understand a machine because we have made it. We understand clocks and steam-engines because they are of our own invention and our own making. Similarly, we shall understand the world if the world be found to be constructed in the same way as the things we make—for then, to account for everything in it, nothing more will be required than space and time, matter and motion, and the parallelogram of forces. If it be so, we shall be able, not indeed to produce it, but to calculate and predict all its movements and changes; and philosophy will be resolved into mathematics. Then it would be possible, Du Bois-Raymond, said, for a mental power sufficiently acquainted with antecedent circumstances, to calculate when the Greek Cross will fly again from St. Sophia, and predict the day and hour when England will burn her last lump of coal. This is all that is needed for understanding.

This is the simplest possible interpretation of experience because it requires no thought of anything with which we are not alreadyfamiliar; and is, therefore, the oldest of philosophies still and the one which appeals to the greatest number of minds. And about the middle of last century many circumstances combined to give a seeming conformation to this theory of the world, such as the apparently universal sufficiency of the Newtonian scheme of the universe, and the universal validity of mathematical calculation, reinforced by the newly discovered principle of the conservation of energy. These things seemed to confirm this interpretation by bringing everything in the world under the sweep of calculation, and what more was required for understanding the world?

This then may be described as the mechanical, materialistic and realistic interpretation of experience.

(*b*) *Biological interpretation.*—But about the same time another way of understanding the world was gaining ground; the rapid advance of the biological sciences was suggesting another interpretation. The great improvement of the microscope, and the discoveries made in organic chemistry, made it possible now to form a vivid idea of the growth of an organism, *e.g.*, of a plant expanding from a microscopic germ into stem, branches, leaves and flowers. And the work of Lamarck and Darwin made it possible to extend what was seen to be true of the growth of the individual plant and animal, to the whole kingdom of organic things: and to conceive them all as growing, dividing and branching out from one or a few original germs. Then it seemed easy and natural to extend the analogy of organic growth and development, as now at last understood, to the whole world, physical as well as organic; and to conceive the whole as growing in successive stages, from lower to higher, from some simple beginning.

Hence many now began to think that the world could be best interpreted from the analogy (not of a machine but) of a growing organism, and to favour an organic or biological interpretation of experience.

(*c*) *The biological absorbed into the mechanical.*—But the attempt to make the organic continuous with the physical world, was found to reveal a wide gap between them. Philosophy was now confronted with the problem of Life, which rules in the organic, but is absent from the physical. In organism there seems to be a new force which lays hold of the five already known forces of physical nature, and bends them to purposes of its own, in defiance of the parallelogram of forces. This shows a link wanting in the chain of evolution—a something which could not be produced from the already known forces, in the physical laboratory, and therefore still beyond the reach of understanding. Nevertheless many still entertained a lively hope that the gap might be bridged over—that the two interpretations, the mechanical and the organic, might be found not to contradict, but to supplement each other; life itself might be found to be only a moving equilibrium of the forces already made familiar by experiment. This hope found expression in the famous statement of Tyndall, that matter could already be seen to contain in it the promise and potency of all forms of being. This meant that the forces already manipulated in the laboratory might yet be found sufficient by themselves to produce all the phenomena of life and mind. And since then, from time to time, a rumour has spread abroad, that the great synthesis had been already accomplished. Such rumours have proved groundless, but nevertheless, in the period of the 1870's, so much had been effected that the scientific literature of that time was pervaded by a feeling of exultation and a lively assurance that the true interpretation of experience was within sight—that the grand *arcanum* was soon to be opened up—the veil of Isis was at last to be drawn aside—and a world of mechanical and mathematical realities revealed to sight and nothing else.

Attempt at mediation—Life-force.—For a time a small party tried to prove that the forces known by experiment were insufficient to account for the phenomena of life, not to speak of mind; and that another force must be admitted,—a force which lays hold of the already known physical forces, and makes them produce effects which they could not produce by themselves (Driesch, Haldane, Bergson, etc.). This was a special *vital force* or *elan vital* which cannot be laid hold of by experiment. But the theory of a special life-force seems to be generally rejected. The physiological work for which it was thought necessary, can be done, it is maintained, mechanically. One after another, the organic substances for which a special life-force had been thought indispensable, have been produced artificially in the laboratory, by means of the physical forces already known. The natural conclusion is, that all the rest may be so produced. Why then should we hesitate any longer to accept the universal reign of mechanism, and the mechanical interpretation of the world ?

But it will not be out of place to refer here to some of the experiments of Sir J. C. Bose in Calcutta, as having a direct bearing on this question. The plant, we see, draws up moisture from the soil through a system of tubes to feed its growing cells, as the flowing blood nourishes the tissues of the animal. Now the question; what makes the sap rise from root to leaves, had long been a problem to botanists. A few years ago the question was thought to be settled by a German botanist. He had proved that it takes place in this way: the heat of the sun evaporates the moisture contained in the plant through the open *stomata* (little mouths) of the leaves. The evaporation creates a vacuum in the vessels of the plant. The vacuum thus produced sucks up new sap from the soil as fast as it is evaporated from the leaves. The sap on which the life of the plant depends, is simply pumped up mechanically on the principle of the vacuum pump. What was thought to be the work of an otherwise unknown life-force, was found to be due to mechanism of the simplest kind. May not the other processes of the plant be yet explained in some equally simple way?

But Sir J. C. Bose has shown by new experiments that the rise and flow of sap is produced in a very different way. He finds in the plant a system of pulses which send the sap along the tubes and through the tissues of the plant as the beats of the heart send the blood through the arteries of the animal. If this be so, then circulation in plants has nothing more to do with the vacuum pump than circulation has in animals. This, fully established, will be an important step forward in the science of life—raising doubt regarding other plausible mechanical explanations.

But the above realistic view was the prevailing form of thought in the 1870 period. It claimed to be above all things *scientific*, *i.e.*, to explain all things by the forces already known to science. This made the world to appear simple and easily understood, and was therefore accepted by many as the final interpretation of experience.

Psychology also absorbed into bilogy and mechanics.—But even if life could be accounted for by the already known physical forces of nature, there would still be an enormous omission in the realistic theory. It would be like a version of *Hamlet* in which the prince of Denmark is omitted. The interpretation of the world cannot be accomplished by leaving out the chief performer in the interpretation. Yet the chief performer, *viz.* mind, had been largely ignored. It is true that mental philosophy was not altogether neglected at that period. Spencer was the chief authority in science of mind, and to his *Principles of Biology*, deriving life from nature, he had added *Principles of Psychology* deriving mind from life. But his psychology made the processes of mind to be so dependent on, and so closely parallel to those of the living organism, as to make them, some thought, to be practically identical, and to bring mental science into line with the realistic interpretation of nature. To be sure, he accompanied his psychology with a certain caution and reservation. After having made mind to be a product of the world, and all knowledge to be stamped on the mind by the world of things, he turns round and assures us that the physical world is something unknown and unknowable; and this means that it has nothing in common with the mental world of knowledge. This contradiction could not be accepted. The agnostic background which he thus tried to give to his psychology, was generally rejected, and Spencer's was generally accepted as the psychology of naturalism, and mind regarded as a product of nature, without initiative of its own. After Spencer came Wundt; but the difference was not great. To Wundt ideas resolved themselves into feelings. Feelings were affections of the organism, having different degrees of strength for organic reasons. The strongest feeling of the moment asserted itself, and rose into Will. Thus mind, psychologically considered, resolved itself into automatic working of organism, having its ground in a shifting synthesis of physical forces (though in his later work on metaphysic, Wundt seems to view the possibility of an ultimate ideal background of the whole).

Reaction against realistic interpretations.—The above was the prevailing way of thinking in the 1870's. But much water has flowed under the bridges since then; and there has been a considerable change of front. Science has made many discoveries; many things then thought impossible have come to light, and many things then thought to be known already to "the very bottom," have been found to be far deeper than supposed. In many quarters, where knowledge was thought to be already exhausted, new avenues of discovery have opened up—everywhere depths beyond depths. Even the atom of the old philosophy, regarding which everything was thought to be known that there was to know, has been found to contain a world of wonder within itself. And life and mind have come again to the forefront. The power which interprets experience comes in, itself, for interpretation. The fetters of the old positivism of Comte and Lewes have been cast aside. People will no longer listen to De-Bois-Raymond's *ignoramus et ignorabimus*. People feel themselves free again to think and speculate. Thought and nature have been brought nearer to each other without fear of abolishing either of them. People begin to feel again what the spirit said to Faust :—

> The realm of spirit is not closed,
> Your eyes are dull, your heart is dead.
> Up, scholar, up, and undismayed
> Bathe your breast in the morning-red.

Criticism of realistic interpretation—phenomenalism.—This change of feeling has made itself felt in philosophy also. A feeling soon gained ground of the insufficiency of the realistic dogmatism. For a time this feeling manifested itself (in Germany) in the cry " Back to Kant," and the study of that thinker spread to England. He had already asked the above questions: what is experience? what is understanding? on what conditions are they possible? and what does knowledge really amount to? The realistic school, with its claim of adhering to experience as it really is, had said that knowledge is stamped on the mind by the world itself, and is therefore a copy of the world as the world really is. This had led to the conclusion that mind is nothing but a shadow of the world (following changes in things as the shadow follows the moving train)—and in itself, substantially, nothing at all. Kant reinstates mind.

But he submits its processes to a critical analysis more penetrating than ever was done before. But his criticism led to the conclusion that, to understand the world, we must make it ourselves, and that, therefore, not only our process of interpreting but the world which we interpret, can be only phenomena within the sphere of our mind. Though there must indeed be an independent world external to us, it is to us something unknown and unknowable. He himself, to be sure, did seem to know a great deal about it in his Ethics and Æsthetics. But it was felt by many of his followers that he had himself cut off all approach to it by his theory of knowledge; and that, being therefore a thing of no real account, it was practically non-existent.

Yet some proceeded to relieve his system of its subjective character, and to identify Kant's phenomena with matter in the old realistic sense, and thus to identify his philosophy with the old naturalistic system (as Feuerbach had already done with the deeper idealism of Hegel). This was attempted by Lange in his *History of Materialism*, a work recently resuscitated in an English translation.

Contradiction in modern philosophy.—Thus modern philosophy seemed to end in two mutually contradictory theories—two rival interpretations of experience which destroyed each other. One of them, the realistic school, accepting the empirical psychology of Spencer and his followers, tended to reduce the interpreting mind practically to nothing in itself, *viz.*, by making it to be only a shadow of the world cast on the matter of the brain as in the *camera obscura.* The other was that of Kant and the critical school which, while bringing back mind, practically left no objective world at all for mind to interpret. In short, the result seemed to be either a world without any mind to interpret it, or a mind without any world to interpret. This was at least its logical outcome.

Since that time there has been a vast amount of writing on philosophical questions, but it has been mainly controversial. At the same time experiments have been tried with theories of various kinds such as pragmatism, humanism, neo-realism, behaviourism, voluntarism, Bregsonism, etc., but no firm foundation seems to have been laid, whether psychological or logical, and none of them seems likely to give much satisfaction to those waiting for an interpretation of experience.

II

Search for a Deeper Interpretation.

Therefore the great problem of philosophy at present is to get beyond these rival systems of which the one abolishes mind in order to exalt matter and the other abolishes matter in order to exalt mind. The problem is to find a common ground under-lying both, from which their origin and relation can be understood, and a way of thinking which will abolish neither mind nor matter, but do justice to both.

Thus it may be possible to find a theory of the world which, if it do not supply a special life-force, will show how all the forces of nature alike, are practically life-forces contributing each in its own way to the work of one fundamental force which is life itself; and that mind is not a mere shadow of organism but a fundamental force of which all forces, both physical and vital, are branches. It is only in this way that the contradictions of nature, life and mind itself can be reconciled.

The form of interpretation which aims at this result most effectually was brought forward, a century ago, by Hegel (though indicated by Plotinus in ancient times). It may be called absolute idealism or, perhaps more expressively, ideal-realism. It is essentially idealism because it makes the ultimate ground to be mental; but it is at the same time realism because it gives real existence to nature and its forces, while making them subservient to an ideal end making the energy which works in nature to be identical with that which works in mind. It aims at finding a common ground underlying the mind and the matter of experience, and thereby giving an interpretation of experience which will do justice to both.

Attempt to revive idealism.—This interpretation was introduced into England by Stirling in his *Secret of Hegel* and was applied in parts and for particular purposes by Green, the Cairds, and Bosanquet. But the work which has commonly been accepted, rightly or wrongly, as the official presentation of this philosophy, has been Bradley's *Appearance and Reality.* We say "rightly or wrongly," because this work differs so greatly in some points from the founder, that it may be doubted whether he is truly a representative of the school. He has laid himself open to criticisms which may be justifiable as applied to Bradley himself, but certainly not so, in relation to the school he is supposed to represent.

Some of these are summarised by Prof. G. Dawes Hicks from Dr. James Ward in the October number of the *Hibbert Journal.* There Bradley is accused of the blunder of beginning with the idea of absolute and infinite, and deducing all finite and relative things therefrom. This would no doubt be the perfect way of explaining things, they say, were it possible. But we live in *mediis rebus*—in the middle of a world of finite things and cannot spring all at once from parts to whole, or fly from inside to outside so as to look down on the whole. All that the finite mind can do, is to work on the other finite things round about, and outwards from one thing to another. Yet there is some hope for us, these writers think. We may reach the infinite in this way, we may go on adding one piece of knowledge to another until we are unable to go farther. When we despair of completing the sum of possible additions, we are in sight of the infinite and rest satisfied or this feeling of inability is itself our idea of the infinite. (We are somewhat like the mite in the cheese; it cannot at first form any idea of the whole; all it can do is to eat round about ; and when it has eaten enough, it will begin at last to understand the whole within which it lives.) Hicks and Ward seem to assume the old theory, that the idea of the infinite is obtained by adding one finite thing to another—so fully exposed by Hegel. How then is the idea acquired? If we say that it is *á priori* to experience, this will mean that the idea can exist apart from experience of finite things. If we say it is *á posteriori* with Ward and Hicks, this is saying that experience is possible without it, which it is not. It must therefore be immanent in experience—every fact of experience containing the notion implicit within it, as an essential part of itself. If so, an exposition of philosophy will not begin with it; it will become clear and fully explicit only at the end. (Hegel has a great deal to do with the idea of infinite and absolute, but he does not begin either of his major treatises with that idea, but draws it out at the end, when it has become sufficiently explicit.) Bradley, no doubt, understood all this well enough, but he found it convenient to assume the idea as already understood, and to begin his exposition with it.

But, further, Bradley entitles his work *appearance* and *reality*, and the whole work reads like an attempt to prove that there is only one 'reality,' *viz.*, the absolute, and that finite things are only 'appearances' without reality (as if they were illusions merely). This argument would imply that only what is absolute and self-existent can possess reality, and that things derivative and dependent can only be illusions. But only the crudest pluralism can assume this ; and it is so different from Hegel's own view, that if Bradley really held this view it would be hard to think of Bradley as a follower of Hegel, as is often done. For in Hegel's view the absolute being makes itself to be a concrete reality in evolving a world of finite and relative things. Here, then, finite things are as necessary to the reality of the absolute as the absolute is to the existence of finite things. The absolute becomes real in the activity of creation, and created things therefore may be said to partake of the reality of the absolute. The concrete absolute is the unity of the two. Therefore there is no sense in speaking of finite things as unreal or as mere "appearances." Probably Bradley understood this well enough, but his want of clearness in the language he uses lays himself open to many criticisms. In Hegel's system absolute and relative, infinite and finite, are factors of one whole of reality. The distinction between substance and phenomenon, reality and appearance, are without meaning: everything is real in its own place and for its own purpose.

Nor kernel nor husk in nature see
For there the twain together be.

III

Ideal-Realism.

Bradley's work, therefore, cannot be accepted as adequate expression of the ideal-realistic system of thought, of which he is often taken to be a representative. It is open to the charge of taking away the reality of finite things and of change ("nothing that grows and changes can be real") and therefore of development, and leaving nothing but an abstract being which is the being of nothing, and therefore itself nothing. It seems to reduce philosophy to a blank nihilism.

A fairer notion of the system may be obtained by an analysis or expansion of the first three or four paragraphs of Hegel's own basal work *Logic as Science.* Hegel does not begin as Bradley does, with the absolute, the most concrete form of reality. He begins with Being, the most empty and abstract. But Being (in and by itself) is nothing. This statement has often been treated as an idle paradox. It is rather a truism the significance of which has been overlooked. Though only a truism, its application leads to "the falling down and the rising up" of several things in philosophy.

It means that, to be *real,* Being must *become* real, and that to be real means to be the Being *of* something. Hence it must manifest itself primarily in a process of becoming, that is, of passing from a state of abstract potentiality into something determinate and concrete. But as this particular something cannot contain in itself all the infinite potentiality of Being, therefore the process of becoming will contain in it, not only the act of affirming, positing, or giving existence to a thing, but also the negative process of limiting its existence to a certain quality and quantity. Thus in the process of becoming, not-Being (nothing) will be present as well as Being. This fundamental process will be like the logical judgment which affirms by denying—thinking that A is X includes the thinking that it is not Y or Z. This negation leaves the creative power free to go on to the production of other particular things. Being therefore becomes real Being in evolving a world of finite and relative things—a synthesis of Being and not-Being. Becoming contains production, negation (or limitation), and synthesis of the two. Hence a world of finite things within the unity of one creative power,—infinite because Being must be inexhaustible, and no synthesis of finite things will ever exhaust the infinite.

Becoming, therefore is the most elementary expression of what at more complex stages of thought we call energy or force, and at the highest of all, will and creative power.

The principle that Being is nothing means, therefore, that Being to be real must be the being of something definite—having determinate quality and quantity and subject to the logical processes of thought and the objective processes of physical science. And full consideration of it, disposes of several common ways of thinking. In science we hear many times the words *force* and *energy* used as if they were actual things having substantial existence of their own, and not merely abstract terms for the activity of doing things. Thus we are told again and again that the atoms of which the world is built up, are being dissipated into *energy*, so that the world is coming to an end. But by Hegel's principle, energy is nothing apart from something *energising* and something which it is thereby *producing*—work is nothing but an abstraction apart from something working and the something being done. Therefore if energy cease to operate in the form of atoms, it must operate in some other form. Being will continue to *become* or realise itself as the essence of something, but *not* as a mere abstraction (whence the principle implies the reality of energy and its conservation).

In metaphysics the theories which deny the reality of finite things (*e.g.*, pantheism as commonly understood), leaving only God or the absolute, or substance, or energy as the one solitary reality, thereby reduce these assumed realities to nothingness, and result in nihilism.

We might ask why the realisation of being should take the form of an everlasting world-process; we might think of it as springing into complete realisation like a flash of lightning, without time. But this again would be only a return to the nothing or abstract possibility out of which we suppose it to have sprung. Reality is grounded on action and change, differentiation and interaction, and therefore evolution in time and space. And reality is not a mere aggregate of finite things; that again would be nothing, without the one fundamental Being which gives existence and coherence to the whole.

IV

The Reason of the World.

Thus Being manifests its reality in becoming. But becoming is nothing apart from something which becomes; as force or energy is nothing apart from that which it is producing; will is nothing apart from what is willed. There must be something in the nature of Being, therefore, that enters into the process of Becoming and directs it (both positively and negatively) towards a definite result. It is that something the reality of which is *needed* for the reality of Being. To understand this, we have here to introduce by anticipation the idea of time, and think of it as something the reality of which is future—the future in the present. The world must be already present in Being in the sense of what is *needed* for the self-realisation of Being. What is the meaning of this? We can understand this only in so far as we can find something analogous in our own consciousness. Do we find anything in our own minds which is still unreal but of which the reality is needed for the fuller realisation of the self, and is therefore identical with the power of the self pressing forward into reality and, therefore, a factor in its own reality. This is evidently Idea rising into desire, and thence into will, and thence into action for the further realisation of the Self.

A world of reasons.—If we must think of the world, therefore, as a process of Being realising itself, we must conceive the essence of Being to be Idea, or what should be, at first (logically), in the form of potentiality and power, rising into an eternal process of becoming or self-realisation. We must think of the world, therefore, as ideally immanent in the reality of Being itself; and of the life of Being as a process of evolution which is never exhausted; and we must think of this process as essentially Thought or Idea working itself out into actuality—a world of reasons—a realm of ends. And this self-realising energy which is Idea makes what we commonly call Will.

If we ask, why should Being be compelled to an eternal process of becoming? Why should it not remain at rest as the eternal abstraction which is nothingness? Or why should it not return at last to that state as pessimists thought it should do (Schopenhauer and Hartmann) and as physical science sometimes thinks it must do (by dissipation of energy)? Here again we must appeal to the analogy of self and its experience. The life of the individual mind is wholly the realising of a future which is present in idea. But why realise it? Because we feel its reality to be a Good. We must, therefore, join hands with Plato, and conceive the Idea which is the essence of Being, as the supreme Good—the thought and motive of God.

We must conclude therefore that Being is essentially Thought or Idea, or impulse towards what is not but should be, and which, from analogy of finite mind, we must call the Good; and that this absolute Idea is the spring of all becoming, energy, force, will and creation. We may, with Hegel, conceive it as evolving first (logically) the forms or conditions essential to the making of a world of finite and relative things, and call the system of these forms the *Concept*; and we may think of the concept as filling itself up with a world of concrete things and events which will be real, good, and beautiful (Plato) and call it the *Idea*. And if we must seek an analogy for the divine Idea, we must draw from our own consciousness, and call it the Idea of the Good (though Hegel, less optimistic than Plato, calls it simply the Idea, perhaps to avoid the charge of anthropomorphism).

This way of thinking will be Absolute Idealism, because, fundamental Being is not the idea of anything outside itself to which it is subject, but that of its own realisation as the ultimate Good. It is also Ideal-Realism, because Idea is not the shadow of something other than itself, but the creative force which makes things—the will-force which *thinks* the world into existence. It is what physical science calls force or energy, because energy is nothing apart from what it has to do: and what in metaphysics some call will, because will is nothing apart from what it wills. It follows that nothing is by chance—everything has some part, use and function in the system, *i.e.*, a reason for its existence. Hence a world of reasons.

There are, of course, sceptics who say that this is discredited optimism, a revival of Leibnitz's much ridiculed "best of all possible worlds," discredited by experience of the world:

> "Nature, red in tooth and claw
> With ravine, shrieks against thy creed."

Such a philosophy, therefore, is not a candid "interpretation of experience," such as we want.—Evil no doubt is a difficult subject but idealism holds that there is a reason for everything, and that there must be a reason even for evil, and that that reason is not beyond the reach of thought. The relation of the finite self to other selfs and to the absolute being from which it derives its existence, is the subject of ethics, theology and metaphysic; and these inquiries may be found to throw some light on the problem of evil.

A realm of ends.—This claim for the reality of finite things raises the question; in what does the reality of individual things consist? The system sets aside the absolute self-existence of things, claimed by pluralism (though we heard not long ago of a "pluralistic universe")—a world on such terms would be impossible. It makes the existence of things to consist in their relations to one another and to the fundamental Being which gives them their existence and relations—a world of relativity. What then makes the differences between them—the principle of their individuation. This question goes deep into the innermost nature of Being and no final answer can be given. We can however understand it thus far.

The developing force of Being is like the logical judgment,—a synthesis of positive and negative. In so far as positive it posits or affirms the existence of the individual as a factor in the system of reality, with power and potentialities of self-development, and self-conservation; in so far as negative or limitative, it limits its reality to a certain function or purpose with the powers implied in it. This finite purpose with the consequences contained in it, distinguishes it from other finite things, and from the absolute itself which gives it its existence; and gives it its reality as a finite thing. As Leibnitz pointed out, no two leaves in the forest are exactly the same, because each has its own place and purpose, and this makes them to be different. Hence we can thus far claim independence and freedom for the rational soul though its freedom cannot be such as to lift it out of its place and away from its purpose as a factor of the world system (it is not the absolute and meaningless self-assertion claimed by the old libertarians).

The system, therefore, gives us a world of real things. But it is a world of relativity, not a world of absolutes. Indeed it may be said that it makes the absolute itself to be in one sense relative. For it brings out two senses of that hard-worked word: (*a*) It is abstract Being as the power and potentiality in which the world may be said (logically speaking) to have its ground and therefore as an abstract absolute; and (*b*) it is the highest reality of realities which is the result of the world-process—Being realised and concrete absolute. Thus it might be said that the absolute makes the world and that the world makes the absolute. But the real absolute is the unity of the two—the highest reality. Yet, as Being can never be exhaustively realised, the absolute in this sense is only ideal—the Absolute Idea.

Not pantheism nor materialism.—But attempts have been made at different times to identify this Ideal-Realism with each of two rival systems. It has been identified with a system which makes God to be all, and also with one which makes God to be nothing at all.

(*a*) With pantheism—when taken as it often is, to be a view which deprives finite things of their individual reality and merges them all in the unity of God, leaving no room for any other reality. But this is equivalent to denying the work of creation, thereby making God to be that abstract Being which is equivalent to nothing. It is in the process of becoming—the work of creation—that Being makes itself to be concrete reality. The evolution of the world is the life of God, apart from which God would not be the living, thinking, willing God.

(*b*) Another party have argued that it leaves no room for God. Being in itself is an abstraction and therefore nothing; only finite things are real. The forces here ascribed to Idea are simply the forces of naturalism under another name. The attempt to account for them in this roundabout way is useless. We may as well at once assume them as self-existent things in themselves and content ourselves with watching and registering their operations, without thus trying to account for them (empirical science). The future is emptiness and can have no connection even in idea with the present and past. The world is simply a mass of forces rushing on blindly into the dark and forming fortuitous combinations and disruptions subject to nothing but mechanical and mathematical laws. Thus Fenerbach sought to show that the idealism of Hegel is only the old naturalism disguised under new names and sophistical arguments.

But Idealism goes far to interpret and explain experience and open it up to understanding. Naturalism rather assumes everything; and though it always lifts its head again as being superficially plausible, it never permanently satisfies the mind.

(*c*) And further, if Being thus 'realises' itself in finite things, then it may be argued that finite things alone will be 'real'; the original Being merges itself, and loses its own reality in things and has no separate existence. Therefore Hegel in attempting to destroy materialism really confirms it, and ends in atheism.

This, however, is clearly a misunderstanding. Being in realising itself in the work of evolving a world of things, thereby makes itself to be real, as much as, or more than, the things which it creates. By the negative power inherent in creation, it distinguishes itself from the things which it creates; and remains real as the creative, organizing, unifying, supporting power—making them subservient to its own purpose—God.

It must be admitted, of course, that in such a world of relativity, the relation of things to one another is different from that assumed in an atomistic, dualistic, pluralistic system (if such a thing is itself thinkable) which make a freer use of the idea of absoluteness.

Conclusion.—Are we to conclude, then, that the cry "Back to Kant" leading to the result which makes mind (in the old subjective sense) to be the only reality and making the world to be a world of phenomena merely is out of date; and that the cry Back to experience and physical science, in the old realistic sense, gives no satisfactory interpretation of experience (merely telling us that we must get on without one)? Are we to be satisfied with this barren conclusion (mechanism or agnosticism), or must we seek another philosophy?

May we not conclude that the most promising watchword for philosophy at present is : Back to Ideal-Realism (or, if you will, back to Plotinus and Hegel). This will, at least, show us the way to a reconciliation of mind and nature, spirit and matter, as correlative factors subservient to one all-comprehending reality and give a clearer meaning to such terms as matter, force, nature, life, mind, soul, spirit, creation, world, absolute and relative,—terms and ideas without which we cannot think, but about which thinking is so wavering and vague. We may arrive in this way at a more satisfactory Interpretation of Experience than naturalism can give.

HENRY STEPHEN

URBAN LIFE AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS

The rise of our great towns is a striking feature but it is a recent[1] phenomenon. As Sir Hunter points out "no other government has built cities in India. It is in this difficult enterprise in which the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Danes, and the French have failed successively that the British have succeeded. We make our appearance in the long list of races who have ruled that splendid empire not as temple builders like the Hindus, nor as palace and tomb builders like the Mohamedans nor as fort builders like the Maharattas nor as Church builders like the Portuguese but, in the more commonplace capacity of town builders. As a nation that had the talent of selecting sites on which great commercial cities would grow up and who have in this way created a new industrial life for the Indian people."[2] More than half of the urban population lives in cities containing about 20,000 inhabitants or more. Considering the continental

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[1] The following table shows the growth of a few big cities :—

Name of the city.	1891	1901	1911	1921
Calcutta	6,82,305	8,47,796	8,96,067	9,03,173
Bombay	8,21,764	7,76,006	9,79,445	11,72,953
Madras	4,52,518	5,09,346	5,18,660	5,22,951
Rangoon	1,92,579	2,08,575	2,33,839	3,04,420
Lahore	1,76,854	2,02,964	2,28,687	2,79,558
Ahmedabad	1,48,412	1,85,899	2,16,777	2,74,202
Lucknow	2,73,028	2,64,049	2,59,798	2,43,553
Karachi	1,05,199	1,16,663	1,51,903	2,15,781
Poona	1,82,080	2,45,430	2,93,316	1,76,671

[2] See The Indian Empire, p. 659.

size of the country it is remarkable to note that there are only 35 cities with a population of over 100,000 each and this growth of cities is not at the expense of rural depopulation.[1]

Many years must elapse before our urban population in India can come up to anywhere near that of the countries where city-overcrowding, insanitation, demoralisation and degeneration of physique have created a need for people to return back to the land. The growth of our urban population simply illustrates Levassuer's proposition that the "power of attraction of human groups is generally proportionate to their mass."[2] This can be seen by noting the percentage of the population of the three classes of towns to the total urban population. As J. A. Martin says, "the medium-sized country town is stationary or decadent and it is in the larger town under the influence of industrial conditions that population is increasing. In the larger class of towns of over 50,000 inhabitants the increase in urban population amounts to 13% or more in the decade 1911-21; in towns between 20,000 and 50,000 the increase is only 8% and in towns between 10,000 and 20,000 less than 1%.[3] The following

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[1] The following table shows the proportion of urban to the total population at the time of the different Censuses.

Year.	Population.
1872	8·2%
1881	9·41%
1891	9·46%
1901	9·88%
1911	9·42%
1921	10·2%

In England 78% of the population lives in towns; in France 42%; in the United States of America 51%; in Germany 46% live in towns; in Austria Hungary 26%; in the Balkan Countries 18%; in Russia about 14% live in towns.

[2] Quoted by A. F. Weber, "The Growth of Cities in the XIXth century," Ch. IX.

[3] Lecture before the Royal Society of Arts.

table[1] shows the variation in urban population at each Census.

Classes of places.	1921		1911		1901	
	Places.	Population.	Places.	Population.	Places.	Population.
Total population	6,87,935	316,017,751	7,22,492	313,488,137	7,30,750	294,317,082
Urban territory	2,313	32,418,776	2,150	29,702,063	2,145	29,200,247
(1) 100,000 and over	35	8,211,704	30	7,075,782	31	6,605,837
(2) 50,000 to 100,000	54	3,517,749	45	3,010,281	52	3,414,188
(3) 20,000 to 50,000	199	5,925,675	180	5,508,944	166	4,904,461
(4) 10,000 to 20,000	450	6,209,583	442	6,163,954	471	6,457,839
(5) 5,000 to 10,000	885	6,223,011	847	5,936,513	856	5,938,957
(6) Under 5,000	690	2,331,054	606	2,006,589	569	1,879,465
Rural territory	6,85,622	283,598,975	7,20,342	283,786,074	7,28,605	265,116,835

Another feature of our town life is their power of attracting the landlords and absentee landlordism is receiving a powerful impetus. As these people are few no statistical demonstration of this fact can be given. Their stay in the town becomes permanent. It is true that in times of famine which have been characterised as days of "national unemployment" agricultural labourers and the village folk migrate to towns to find work but their influx is purely temporary and not of a permanently migratory character. The increased mobility of labour which we find in Western countries is not a regular feature to be counted upon.[2] This is more important than the rapid transferability of capital and unless we secure this we would lack one important condition that facilitates economic progress.

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[1] See The Census of India, 1921, Vol. I, p. 65.

[2] For the character of Indian labour and its mobility, see page 272 to 275, the Census of India, Vol. I (1921).

Another feature of our town life is the marked preponderance of the male population over the females. Taking the total population of our country we find that there are more males in the country than females and this shortage of the female population is due to the hard work which the females of the lower classes have to endure in order to supplement their family earnings. Just as in the Western countries the hardworking factory labourers are carried off by premature death in the early years of their life, so also in this country the hardworking females are carried off at a comparatively early age.[1] Early marriages leading to child-births tend to sap the vitality of the females and make them an easy prey to fatal diseases. In our towns there is not only the dearth of the female population but generally speaking the percentage of foreign-born people is very high in all the big cities. The chief consequence of this on employers of industrial labour is that they cannot depend on steady and continuous work of their employees who yearn for their home life, wives and children who were left behind in a far-off place. The employees lead an unnatural life increasing the scope for irregular sexual conditions. The following table shows the above features.[2]

City.		Total population.	Females per 1000 males.	Number of foreign-born per 1000.
Greater Calcutta	...	1,327.547	500	629
Bombay	...	1,175,914	524	840
Madras	...	526 911	908	335
Agra	...	185.532	783	119
Rangoon	...	341,962	444	677
Ahmedabad	...	274,007	763	397
Karachi	...	216,888	629	605
Lahore	...	281 281	571	440
Cawnpore	...	216,436	667	425
Peshawar	...	104.445	610	349
Srinagar	...	141,735	850	21

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[1] See Mayo Smith, Studies and Statistics, p. 41 and the following.

[2] See the Statistical Tables relating to Population in the Statistical Abstract for British India.

There is a high percentage of deaths in our towns as shown in the following table.[1]

	1912	1916	1920	1921
Population in which births and deaths were registered.	238,661,346	238,527,685	238,482,589	241,419,723
Total number of births ...	9,295,296	8,856,283	7,864,232	7,774,776
Ratio of births per mille ...	38·95	37·13	32·98	32·20
Total number of deaths ...	7,090,901	6,940,436	7,355,654	7,385,778
Ratio of deaths per mille ...	29·71	29·10	30·84	30·59
Ratio of deaths in towns ...	33·09	32·16	34·65	33·33
Ratio of deaths in rural areas ...	29·41	28·81	30·49	30·32

In the Western countries the growth of industrialism is responsible for the creation of new cities. Some of the old cities of England like Bristol and Norwich have been losing their importance. But the growth of their new cities is far greater than the decay of the old towns; hence they are countries where the major part of the population lives in cities. But in India the causes that have been responsible for the growth of the cities have been enumerated already. Certain of our towns are already losing their importance as soon as the capital of the district is changed. Mandalay, and Patna are losing their population. Mandalay is no longer the capital of Burma. The railway has shifted the centre of trade and Patna in spite of being the capital of a new province is declining in population. Saugor in the Nerbauda Valley and Ferojpur in the Punjab are similarly losing their importance owing to changes in the course of rivers. Myingan in Upper Burma is now a ruin as the Irrawady has changed its course. Many towns in Lower Bengal have lost their importance on account of changes in the course of the Ganges. As there is no regularisation of the flow of rivers even agriculture is being adversely affected. From 1882 to 1884 the Bhagirathi was closed for navigation for twenty years but from 1885 to 1923 she was closed for 23 years; the Jalanghi was closed for only one year from 1885 to 1905 but from 1906 to 1923 she was closed for 12 years.[1] Embankments exclude the fertilising silt from the country-side. Gradually the latter becomes lower than the bed of the stream and this is the reason why there are more floods than before. Embankments also lead to waterlogging and these low cesspools, as Dr. Bentley has shown us, are the breeding ground of the malaria mosquitoes. River-engineering aiming at the careful devising of the embankments and sluices is necessary to benefit the agriculturists. The health of the villagers is ruined by the embankments of rivers which prevent the annual flushing of the natural drainage channels of the people. A hydro-geological survey is necessary and measures have to be taken to prevent this encroachment upon agricultural fields. Some of the towns like Dacca and Amritsar though they have been losing their population for a number of years are now in a position to increase their population as they have developed their industries. The establishment of jute presses in Dacca and the starting of the carpet industry in Amritsar in the nineties have increased their population.

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[1] The table is constructed from the figures quoted in the Statistical Abstract for British India.

Another noticeable feature is that people of certain provinces are more urbanised than those of other provinces. The following table shows this feature clearly.

Provinces.	Area in sq. miles.	Towns.	Villages population.	Urban population.	Rough proportion of urban to total population.
Madras	142,260	316	37,040,280	5,278,705	11·9%
Bombay	123,621	206	14,907,971	4,400,208	21·0%
Bengal	76,843	130	43,509,236	3,186,300	6·4%
The United Provinces ...	106,295	435	40,570,322	4,805,465	8·9%
The Punjab	99,846	146	18,472,833	2,212,191	10·0%
Burma	223,707	79	11,920,665	1,291,527	7·6%
Bihar and Orissa ...	83,161	75	32,627,424	1,291,525	3·0%
Central Provinces and Berar.	99,876	113	12,519,493	1,393,267	7·6%
Assam	53,015	28	7,428,085	173,145	1·3%
North-West Frontier Province.	13,419	19	1,915,491	35,849	13·6%
Baluchistan ...	54,228	6	350,574	69,948	14·6%
Ajmere-Merwara ...	2,711	5	330,574	154,697	32·7%
Coorg	1,582	2	154,997	8,841	4·9%
Delhi	593	1	183,768	304,420	62·5%
Andamans-Nicobars ...	3,143	...	27,086	...	..

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[1] Quoted by Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee in his paper read before the Economic Association of the Scottish Churches College.

Advantages of Town Life.

The essential economic advantages of town life have to be understood in the first instance. There is first of all the physical proximity of the people residing in the towns. This involves an enormous economy in the cost of communications, speech is substituted for the written letter; material goods need to be carried much shorter distances; exchanges are facilitated and the risks of loans are greatly reduced. The economies in communication mean large accessible markets and large markets in their turn lead directly to more highly specialised form of production and yet further economies. These economies are largely reflected in the huge site rents of densely populated areas.[1] As His Excellency Sir William Marris says, "it is a short-sighted view to hold that it was unjust to rural areas to use revenue derived from them for the purpose of ameliorating the conditions in the towns. The importance of large cities should not be measured solely by their contribution to the provincial revenues or even the provincial and central income combined but they should be considered as centres of the industrial, intellectual, economic and political life of the country, their influence and example tend to radiate and affect every part of every country and everything that conduces to their well-being reacted in some measure to the benefit of the rest of the province."[2] Prof. Giddings says, "The city produces population, energy and original ideas—the raw materials of social life—as the country produces food and the raw materials of manufacture.

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[1] As an illustration the case of Calcutta can be cited. The acuteness of the housing problem has forced the people to extend the suburbs and clear the jungle areas. Buildings are being rapidly constructed in Cossipore, Dum-Dum, Barrackpore, Ishapore, Naihatty, Hooghly and Serampore. Even moffusil rents round Calcutta are rising. In Serampore, Hoogly, Chandernagore and Chinsurah the low grade clerks find it impossible to pay high rents. The value of suburban land has risen. A decade back it was only Rs. 200 a cottah and now it has risen to three to five times the former price.

[2] Reply to the Address of the Cawnpore Improvement Trust, July 28, 1923.

The city combines ideas and thus forms the social mind. In exchange for the streams of fresh life that pour in from farm and village it sends forth to every community and even to the isolated homestead stimulating currents of thoughts and of moral enthusiasm. It quickens social instincts and awakens interests in men and women whose lives were also monotonous and hard. It raises their standards and puts before them formulated policies for their consideration." In fact they are the creators of civilization.[1] Mass consciousness is developed and a capacity for collective action and self-consciousness lead to self-organisation which would enable the working classes to cope with the intelligent dynamic currents of life. Towns are the centres of social intelligence, initiative and endeavour.[2] It is the working classes which have experienced the suffering from a callous exploitative tendency of capitalism that have always taken the lead towards political freedom in Western countries. If national freedom, political or economic, is to be obtained in this country it is only by the discontented peasantry allying themselves with a town working-class people that real progress can be achieved.

The Evils of Town Life.

While the urban population ought certainly to increase there should be town-planning under healthy and well-planned conditions with broad streets, open spaces and other amenities of town life. As the population of the towns is increasing house rent has fast been mounting up with the necessary result that overcrowding of houses is resorted to and the death rate and the rate of infant mortality have also tended to increase. Though the problem of civic housing, sanitation and communication except in a few cities is not so very important as in the Western countries still it would become a serious problem requiring huge capital resources for a satisfactory solution. As the pace of industrialism proceeds rapidly, slum-like areas and bustees or "bolshevik barracks" are sure to arise in the near future.[1] Our town population is increasing much faster than the reorganisation of the manifold phases—social and economic—of town life including municipal government is making urban conditions as wholesome as those of the progressive countries. Prof. Mackenzie correctly says, "the growth of large towns constitutes perhaps the greatest of all the problems of modern civilisation."[2] The American statistician Longstaff says, "by a curious perversion the advantage of towns is said to be life. There is in truth more life in a given space, more high pressure, more rush but it is the rush of a clock running down."[3] Our limited experience corroborates the truth of these remarks.

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[1] See R. T. Ely, "Urban Land Economics, p. 19.

[2] See the Report of the Indian Fiscal Commission, p. 28.

Besides these problems "it also involves the question of diminished labour supply for rural areas, of urban municipal transit, sanitation and taxation, of poverty and a very large share of the maladjustments and physical and moral wastes of civilisation, as well as a great proportion of the improvements that have to be made in the arts and opportunities of life."[4] In some of the Indian towns conditions are forcing the poorer classes to live in small ill-ventilated rooms of less than 10′ × 10′, paying a rental of Rs. 1-8 to Rs. 2-8 per mensem. Instead of single houses we have apartment houses;[5] residential areas are being invaded by business and manufacturing concerns and the old buildings are put to uses for which they are ill-adapted. The illogical town extensions are being conducted at the expense of health and comfort of our own citizens. There is very rapid growth outrunning municipal ability to make the necessary thoroughfares and provide the needed public utilities, leading to public confusion. A constructive town-planning classifying areas into business and industrial purposes will tend to stabilise real estate values, promote orderly building, enhancing beauty, developing local self-consciousness and civic responsibilities on the part of the people.

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[1] See Dr. Clapham, Economic Development of France and Germany, p. 53.

[2] See J. S. Mackenzie, Introduction to Social Philosophy, p. 101.

[3] Quoted by Prof. Giddings, Democracy and the Empire, p. 88.

[4] See F. A. Ogg, The Economic Development of Modern Europe p. 353.

[5] See G. F. Shirras' Report on an Enquiry into Working Class Budgets in Bombay, p. 8. and p. 26. See also the Census of India, 1921, Vol. I, Ch. on Urban and Rural Population.

Overcrowding and Disease.

When our towns have grown without any plan the evil of overcrowding has resulted. The relation between overcrowding and disease is too well-known to need any elaboration here. The spreading of tuberculosis and other diseases, lack of interest in public affairs, loss of efficiency, bad training, and development of children as well as moral and mental delinquency and deficiency especially among the young men are the chief direct results of crowded city-life. The construction of high buildings in cities like Calcutta and Bombay known as "sky-scrapers" is bound to have a prejudicial effect on the health of the children living therein. The trouble in climbing up long flight of stairs forces children and women to remain indoors without taking any exercise. There is great difficulty in keeping them clean and the tendency of inmates is to throw dirt down on the ground. These buildings block out light and air. The vicious circle of evils resulting out of defective housing arising primarily out of poverty have been stated clearly by Dr. Ford.[1]

Our municipalities should have a definite house-planning and land policy even whether land is required for building or not. As in German municipalities ownership of land and houses is bound to augment the slender resources of the local bodies. The unearned increment arising out of land valuation can be enjoyed by the local bodies. The land speculators' actions can also be checked. The following table shows the extent of town estate and its relation to population.[1]

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[1] See Dr. J. Ford's Social Progress and Social Policy, p. 582.

Town.	Population (1910).	Extent of Town lands		Total.	No. of acres per 1000 inhabitants.
		Within Admn.	Outside Admn.		
Berlin	2,071,300	5,452·8	46,889·6	52,352·4	25·3
Brandenberg ...	53,600	9,264·8	8,375·3	17,639·5	326·6
Breslau	512,100	2,667·4	14,127·7	16,795·1	32·8
Frankfort on Main ...	514,500	11,868·4	3,554·3	15,522·7	37·4
Frankfort on Oder ...	68,300	3,062·8	9,509·5	12,572·3	184·8
Freidberg in Baden ...	83,300	9,846·2	2,247·9	12,094·1	145·7
Furth	66,600	3,570·2	8,813·5	12,483·7	186·3
Colitz	85,800	758·3	76,944·8	77,703·2	903·5
Mannheim ...	193,900	7,339·6	160·5	7,501·1	38·6
Munich	596,500	5,724·7	7,068·2	12,792·9	21·4
Rostock	65,400	901·7	27,632·6	28,544·3	439·1
Strausberg ...	178,900	6,549·2	4,915·3	11,464·5	64·0
Stetin	216,100	8,810·5	9,162·0	15,972·5	73·9

Our municipalities should have special land purchase fund and a competent municipal board to acquire land. Suitable site for the public works can be easily acquired. The extension of the town in the desirable direction can be accomplished easily. Although these things have been talked off on more than one occasion nothing tangible has been done. Even much assistance is not granted to the Co-operative Building Societies to acquire land on easy terms. Building societies are not helped by the sale of land below cost price. In Prussia out of 122 towns with a population of 25 thousand, 28 had sold land at cheap price sometimes under cost price; 33 to building societies, 30 had reduced taxation and other contributions due in respect of small houses. Such are the different ways in which the German Municipalities try to solve the problem of town-planning. It is impossible to expect a well-planned town to result from the independent activities and operations of isolated speculators and the collective power of society has to consciously control the problem of beauty, of air and of light. Such enlightened and deliberate control of the social environment is necessary.

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[1] Quoted by Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao, "Paper on Municipal Problems."

There is an intimate relationship between town-planning and the health of the citizens. The ultimate object of all town-planning is to build sanitary houses placed amidst good surrounding with a plentiful, carefully regulated water-supply, a perfect system of drainage, a liberal supply of medical help, sanitary places to sell wholesome food-stuffs, a rigidly controlled number of maternity and welfare centres to ensure the growth of strong and sturdy man-hood and womanhood, and provision for the isolation of the lepers in asylums or garden homes outside the town. Without a system it is impossible to build cities in such a way as to ensure satisfactory conditions of health. Sanitation in our cities and the supply of pure water are not looked after in the proper manner. The recent report of Sir Alexander Houston and Colonel W. W. Clemenshaw on the water-supply of Bombay bears out the truth of the above remark.[1]

The darkening of the river industrial and port cities by smoke from coal fires is a positive danger to the health of the people. The reduction of the atmosphere pollution is vital to the interests of the city people. The injury to the buildings and vegetable foodstuffs is another loss. The reduction of the cleaning charges or washing expenses for cleaning rooms or for making provision for artificial light alone would be significant. It has been estimated that Manchester annually suffers a damage of over one million sterling. It is calculated that if Manchester were to be a clean city the cost of household washing could be reduced by about a quarter of a million pounds sterling.[1] It should be remembered that the situation in Calcutta is not so worse as that of the Western industrial and shipping centres. Besides the Bengal Smoke Nuisance Commission is doing yeoman service in giving relief under this heading.

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[1] It remarks that a population of 12 to 13 lakhs is supplied with water which is quite unwholesome and dangerous to life and that too in a country where the carriers of disease are notoriously prevalent.

The rush, scramble, excitement and bustle of town life generally leads to late hours of children going to bed. In the workmen's quarters cheap tasty food and unsuitable diet is given to the children as this conforms to the tastes of the parents. Adulterated foodstuffs as Ghee, milk, rotten fish, flour mixed with soft stones, vegetable ghee devoid of vitamine are sold in the populous cities in spite of the vigilance of food-inspectors. The food-inspectors are not empowered to prosecute the food-sellers more than twice a year and the Municipal Magistrates seldom punish them in an exemplary manner. Frequent prosecutions of these people have to be permitted if food adulteration can be checked. According to the Calcutta Health Officer's-report (1923) 45·2% of milk cases analysed contained adulteration. Only 14·4 of ghee cases analysed are reported to be adulterated. This is a remarkable improvement over 1921 when 85 % of milk and

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[1] See Simon and Fitzerald, "Smokeless City," also J. W. Graham, "The Destruction of Daylight," pp. 6-24. It has been said in London owing to smoke there is only 12% as much sunlight as is astronomically possible and that one fog in five is directly caused by smoke while all the fogs are befouled and prolonged by it. See also the Interim Report of the Committee on Smoke and Noxious Vapours Abatement, C D 755, 1920, p. 3. See also the Calcutta Municipal Gazette, 15th Aug., 1925. The individual cost of damage under Smoke Nuisance in Calcutta has been estimated at Rs. 75 per annum. About 50 tons of soot are daily thrown into the streets of Calcutta.

75 % of ghee cases were considered to be adulterated by the Health Officer of Calcutta. When such adulteration of vital foodstuffs is permitted it is impossible for children to grow up healthy and strong. Town work for adults is nothing short of "exhausting athleticism" and the Indian people having been accustomed to have plenty of fresh air and country food find that by resorting to towns neither could be obtained and this is seriously affecting their physical vitality, health, mental and moral development. The prolonged stay in towns tends to create disinclination for travel. It deadens their curiosity as regards remote regions and their inhabitants. It would tend to develop an influence unfavourable to sustained and concentrated effort. The towns-people have lost their communal or co-operative sympathies and look to the activities of the state to supplement their deficiencies arising out of their own inability. The towns-people are easily becoming a prey to the activities of the social parasites of town-life like the burglar, the pickpocket, the forger, and the swindler who exercise their ingenuity in obtaining access to ready-made wealth created by others. The activities of the more refined class of pseudo-commercial men with their naive advertisements, the financier class,[1] the organisers of political strikes and the labour agitators tend towards the same direction. In addition to these the diseased beggers that stroll about the towns are a positive nuisance.[2]

Sturdy able-bodied workers instead of depending on work of a productive nature prefer to live on the bounty of the charitably inclined people. The drink evil is no less serious in the towns. Drinking[1] and intemperance still further accentuate the poverty and produce vicious consequences. Dr. Ford comments on the evil results flowing from poverty in an interesting manner.[2]

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[1] See T. N. Carver for the different economical and uneconomical ways of acquiring wealth. Economy of Human Energy, pp. 240-252.

[2] See the Report of the Beggars Committee of the Government of Bombay, The Economic Journal of the I. E. Society, June, 1920, pp. 120-123 : See also the Report of the Committee of the Madras Corporation which prohibits begging on the part of the diseased beggars.

The Opium Menace.

The consumption of opium in all the industrial cities and centres is fast becoming an evil ruining the health of children and leading to chronic constipation and intellectual weakness. All scientists unanimously hold the opinion that opium addiction decreases the power of resistance. The narcotic action of opium makes the leucocytes tardy in coming up to combat the deadly germs of infectious diseases. The loss of moral stamina is a graver evil than the loss of health. Medical requirements do necessitate the consumption of opium in our country but it has been considered by the League of Nations Committee that 6 seers per 10,000 of population is just the minimum required. Taking our industrial cities the following table shows the consumption of opium per 10,000 of population. The custom of giving opium to children just to keep them quiet is too common in Bombay by the women industrial workers.[3]

Cities.	Consumption of opium per 10,000 of population.
Calcutta	144 Seers
Rangoon	108 „
Ferojpore	60 „
Ludhiana	49 „
Lahore	40 „
Amritsar	28 „
Cawnpore	29 „
Ahmedadad	42 „
Bombay	43 „
Sholapore	35 „
Karachi	46 „
Hyderabad (Sind)	52 „
Madras	26 „
Cuttack	25 „
Balasore	50 „

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[1] If the value of imported liquors is added to home-grown intoxicants the annual bill amounts to one hundred crores of rupees. If productive energy and national dividend are to increase the drink habit has to be exterminated.

[2] See Dr. J. Ford, Social Problems and Social Policy, p. 589. Also Dr. Harry, Poverty and its Vicious Circles.

[3] See Miss J. H. Kelman, Labour in India, p. 191. See also Eddy, Sherwood, "New World of Labour," pp. 67, also the Bombay Labour Gazette, Sep., 1922.

The total consumption of opium in the whole of India is nearly 12 seers per 10,000 of population nearly double that of the minimum requirements fixed by the medical authorities. The following table shows this[1]:—

Province.	Opium consumption.	Province.	Opium consumption.
The U. P. ...	6·6 per 10,000	Bengal ...	8·1 per 10,000
Behar and Orissa ...	8·3 „	Madras ...	8·5 „
N.W.F. Prov. ...	10·2 „	The Punjab ...	12·0 „
Central Provc. ...	16·1 „	Bombay ...	22·2 „
Burma ...	28·7 „	Assam ...	52·1 „
Baluchistan ...	6·0 „	Ajmere ...	52·7 „
Coorg ...	2·3 „		

India is also responsible for sending "raw opium" fit for smoking to the countries of the Far East. In spite of Great Britain's agreeing to restrict the preparation and export of opium according to the Hague Convention the Government of India did not solemnly fulfil this pledge due to the fear of losing revenue. The plea that India should go on preparing and exporting opium till China should go dry first and then after a period of 15 years there should be total prohibition in the preparation and sale of opium has been condemned by the American Government which has retired out of sheer disgust from the Opium Conference.[2] It is not the external consumption alone which has to be stopped for it tantamounts to the exporting of poison in a refined shape but the internal consumption has also to be reduced to the minimum safety limit of 6 seers per 10,000 population.

As a result of these bad habits and the poor physical, vital and social conditionings in town life, the formation of character is being adversely affected. Sir James MacDonell was correctly describing the situation when he remarked that "the criminal in the modern society is a product manufactured by the society itself." Realising the evils of the town life the westerners are aiming to remodel their "paleo-technic cities of coal, steam, and iron, of overcrowding, dirt, and squalor into neo-technic cities of electricity, and hygiene, of architecture and art."[1] It needs no emphasis to say that we should refrain from building these paleo-technic cities in our blind enthusiasm for adapting our life to that of agricultural cum industrial character.[2]

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[1] See the Memorandum on Opium by C. F. Andrews (Welfare, April, 1925, pp. 253-258).

[2] See W. W. Willoughby's Report on the Geneva Opium Conference.

It has already been pointed out that the number of women in all our big cities is much less than it ought to be and this is giving rise to serious social and economic evils. Immorality is a great social vice and the ranks of the fallen women are swollen to a great extent by the harsh social conventions and regulations which prohibit widow-marriages. The social practice of patronising professional danseuses and actresses has to be deplored. The anti-nautch movement which was at one time very popular has lost its hold on the people. The economic conditions of the wage-earners renders it difficut to live with their families and these people find it impossible to lead moral lives. Crime is to a large extent facilitated by the serious economic maladjustment in cities. A bad season increases the number of criminals. The habit of paying wages at the end of the month tempts the labourers to squander a part or their earnings in frequenting grogshops and brothels. These unhappy circumstances have to be checked and the best method of dealing with the immorality problem is to restore the sex balance of the cities. Wages have to be revised to enable the wage-earners to lead a family-life and this by itself would reduce the tendency to squander away earnings in grog-shops and brothels. Thus the essential necessities are a reform in housing, education of the workers and the abolition of poverty by paying higher wages. Government control of prostitution as in the case of Japan is bound to be a failure. The increased number of women in the cities according to this scheme can be easily employed in remunerative work as tailoring, milling, dress-making, basket-making, laundry, midwifery, nursing, poultry-keeping and vegetable gardening. It is education alone that can teach purity of life to the workers and the lower class people. Some beneficial agencies like the Salvation Army are needed for the reclaiming of the fallen women back into the fold of the society.[1] Widow's refuges, shelters, hostels, maternity homes and reformatories have to be liberally created and our Sevak Samities have to expand their work in these lines.

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[1] See Dr. R. Mukherjee, "Foundations of Indian Economics," Introduction, XI.

[2] It has already been pointed out that the policy of the German municipalities should be imitated. The German method of town-planning has to be copied. Their economic laying out of cities has to be adopted. Town-planning has to be systematically studied as in Germany. In all the German municipalities social control takes the form of development of new city areas by the municipal government. In the U. S. A. reliance is placed on private institutions regulated by a city planning law accompanied by a Zoning ordinance. Social control aims at the limiting of the private utilisation of the land according to a preconceived plan of developing the whole urban area. See Ely and Morehouse, p. 86. See also F. Howe, "European Cities at Work," p. 170. The development of German towns is illustrated here. Indian municipalities must have a zoning system in order to provide better amenities of town life as a pleasant neighbourhood, beautiful scenery and comforts of living.

The Improvement of Town Life.

As our town population is fast increasing much faster than the reorganization of the manifold phases—social and economic—of our town life including Municipal Government is making urban conditions as wholesome as those of the other countries, every effort must be made by the local Governments and Municipal bodies to improve the cities. As one Greek Professor says, "Men not walls make a city." Emerson observes that "the true test of civilisation is not the Census, nor the size of the cities nor the crops—no, but the kind of man the country turns out." True civilisation consists in the harmonious co-operation of men with intellectual and moral possessions living faithfully and working together for cultural ends. Neither mechanical progress nor material advantages achieved at the sacrifice of mental and moral progress can be considered as progressive civilisation. The towns-people should have a proper physical, moral, educational and social environment so that robust manhood may be created. The placing of good literature within reach of the people, more libraries, better variety and entertainment halls, cinemas, and theatres, public parks, the provision of unadulterated food stuffs in markets under properly guarded sanitary conditions would go a long way in raising the standard of living than mere increase of money income alone.

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[1] See St. Nihal Singh, "Social Progress of India," 1902.
See also Dr. R. Mukherjee "Comparative Economics," Vol. II.

This constructive programme no doubt requires money but this can be obtained by raising taxation on the "unearned increment" that goes to the landlords "who earn it while being asleep." This city development tax can be utilised for expanding the streets, demolishing unhealthy tenements and thus provide healthy, hygienic and sanitary surroundings for the existing buildings. This would lead to an arbitrary enhancement of the rent by the urban landlord but this can be checked by instituting Fair Rent Courts and protecting the tenants generally by a Rent Act. Owing to the operations of the Improvement Trusts in the premier cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Rangoon this situation has unfortunately been reached already. Still these cities do not care to raise fresh sources by this method of taxation. Either this should happen or the Municipality should undertake trading enterprises such as Electric lighting, of the street, tramways, railways, gas-works, water-works, docks, quays, market-halls, bathing establishments, timber warehouses, therapeutic baths, milk supply, inns and restaurants, hydropathic establishments, mines, bakeries, brick-works, diaries, theatres, and other various undertakings that go by the name of municipal trading enterprises. In advanced Western countries as Germany and Great Britain the activities of the municipal bodies have extended in several directions. Economically speaking this municipalisation can be justified on the ground that (1) the enterprise is concerned with the health, convenience and safety of the community as in the case of water-works, sewage works, scavenging, etc., (2) that the local body is the largest consumer as in the case of electric street lighting, (3) that the enterprise involves the use of public property as the tramway in relation to the streets, (4) that important interests of municipalities are at stake, (5) that uniformity of action can be secured only by municipal administration, (6) that more finances can be obtained by this method of action. While it is possible for the municipalities to charge the consumers for the service the municipal trading enterprise performs and thus give relief in rates as it is done in Austria? it is quite possible that these might not bring in any profit to the municipality. Again the poor people would suffer who use the municipal service and the rich people who can afford to have their own service escape paying this charge. If increased local rates on real property cannot be levied the municipalities are levying other taxes less defensible from the economic standpoint. For example taxes on servants and other means of display are levied. Another suggestion to augment the revenue of the municipal bodies is to permit them to add a rate for the privilege of vend on the following articles such as tobacco, opium, hemp drugs and country spirits. There is also the possibility of adding a surcharge to the income tax for the provincial government's use and out of the yield of this tax subventions can be granted to the different municipalities according to their needs. The levying of hospital cesses might also augment the revenue to a limited extent. A slight levy may also be imposed on auction sales in the municipal area. The Provincial Governments must make substantial grants-in-aid towards capital expenditure or outlay but they must at the same time relax the tightening hold they have on the municipalities. Another indispensable necessity is to establish the principle of undivided responsibility so as to make the municipalities "the seminaries for the education of the people in the art of self-government." Self-government would be real and active and the enlightened people of the progressive municipalities would be in a position to check their real representatives in the Indian Legislative Assembly and lead a healthy and national life. The leading of a moral, healthy and orderly life instead of the present discontented life with its supreme indifference to religion would enable them to realise their highest nature. As Prof. Radhakrishnan says, "moral life is a god-centered life, a life of passionate love and enthusiasm for humanity, of seeking the Infinite through the Finite and not a merely selfish adventure for small ends." Man ought not to be a purely materialistic being sacrificing all religion and spiritualism. Another distinguished writer says, "man's abiding happiness is not in getting anything but in giving himself up to what is greater than himself, to ideas which are larger than his individual life, the idea of the country, of humanity and of God."

The comparative and absolute values of town and country, at the present stage of national life have been indicated already. While the allied problems of village reconstruction and revival of rural industries surely require immediate attention, the evils of our town life as realised in the big industrial cities demand earnest and close study before we can hope to advance a step forward along the path of national self-realisation. The present urbanisation process is not desirable and although our country-folk should learn to appreciate certain features of town-life and have the opportunity to visit these centres of life, it would be better not to "bring the town into the country." The provision of quick transit facilities would enable the country people to enjoy an occasional visit to the town.[1] Our history has often been distorted to prove that our forefathers lived happily in villages. Whatever might have been the actual condition in the past it needs no emphasis to state that the agriculturists and the present village folk should extend their intellectual horizon and their conception of economic ideal by coming into contact with the progressive towns-folk.[2] Indian economy should not be mainly a village economy. The union of town economic forces with rural ones is urgently required. Our townsmen should not remain indifferent to the needs of the countrymen, and a prosperous country is one in which the great mass of inhabitants are able to procure with moderate toil what is necessary for living human lives—lives of frugal and assured comfort. Every family ought to possess the material conditions of a complete life. The realisation of this completely depends on the fact that our economic system in its fourfold aspect of improved and efficient consumption, just distribution leading towards educational and cultural development, augmented production by eliminating the wastes of land, labour and capital and economical exchange of goods and services by intelligent methods of co-operation—can be developed to a more efficient stage than at present. This is the real meaning of economic efficiency and economic progress.

Improved Housing in Cities.

Our social investigators have[3] been noticing the growth of our towns into cities and express much concern at the rural exodus. This movement they consider is bound to be strengthened by the development of local transport by the exploitation of the landlord and the financier which would result in turning out the peasant proprietors into peasant proletariat and finally into a landless class which seeks refuge in the factory walls for a bare living. The squalor, filth, pollution, crime, immorality, pauperism, and destitution have to be checked and controlled by public education, awakened social conscience and enlightened state policy. In other countries the state and municipal authorities consider the "slums as the moral and physical cancer in the body of the community" which should be cured by collective agency as early as possible. It is understood that indifferent landlordism and speculative enterprise in building can never solve the housing problem. The Torrens Act of 1868, the Cross Acts of 1875 to 1879, the Housing of Working Class Act of 1890 and the Town Planing Act of 1909 show the different stages in the housing policy of Great Britain. Though some progress was achieved in this line, suburban development of cities, the creation of new houses and the rehousing of the workers were stopped during the course of the war. By 1918 it was estimated that there was a shortage of about a million houses. [1] The State now considers the creation of sanitary houses a part of its social service which it has to render to the community. The Addison Scheme led to the creation of 200,000 houses accommodating about a million people. Any expenditure on these lines could not be carried out under the recommendations of the Geddes Committee. From the year 1920 the State began to limit its contribution while the local authorities had to bear the variable burden, but progress in housing schemes was arrested chiefly due to the Trade Union action in refusing to accept "dilution" and the shortage of

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[1] Even in the Western countries, in spite of their progress in sanitation, medical knowledge, electrical and mechanical engineering, towns are being deserted and there is an advancing tide towards ruralisation which is seen in the new "garden cities" that are arising to correct their overemphasis on capitalised industry.

[2] See M. G. Ranade, Essays in Indian Economics, p. 29.

[3] See the works of Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee. Prof. S. N. Pherwani and Prof. Satish Chandra Ray. These rightly believe that India's economic salvation lies more in the perfec-

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tion of our vital social conditionings of town and urban life than in any other single movement—say political progress at the present moment.

[1] See Barnes, "Housing, The Facts and the Future," p. 92.

housing materials in the country. The present Act of 1924 (the Wheatley Scheme) aims at the construction of 2,500,000 houses within a period of 15 years. The State undertakes to contribute £9 for each new house in the urban area and £12 10*s.*—in rural areas annually for 40 years. Philanthrophic individuals like Miss Octavia Hill did much to draw attention to the housing reform. Commercial speculators also attempted to create garden cities,[1] but both these agencies though allowed to co-ooperate with the state are not considered as the desirable agencies in providing the necessary houses affording the minimum standard of shelter, comfort, convenience, and sanitation. Thus the social will of the community opines that there is no reform more urgent than this. Governmental action is invoked and there is less compunction in setting aside private interests when these tend to conflict with public advantage. This is the cardinal lesson that we have to learn from their action. Both the State and the local authorities have to undertake this action and it has to commence first in the industrial area and although a few of the employers tend to house their own employees there must be a general levelling up of the standard of the sanitary administration in these areas. The State's duty does not end by passing Rent Restriction Acts which however tend to make it uneconomical to build more houses on the part of the private landlords or speculators. Subsidies to municipalities and financial aid to co-operative housing societies have to be instituted to solve the situation in the congested areas. Housing conditions in the areas are a blot on our civilisation and it is left to the State and local authorities to take further action beyond the negative protection afforded to the citizens by paying rent restriction acts. Individual enterprise would always be timid and even municipal bodies would not be forward in this matter. Their first duty must be to make surveys of their area and submit schemes for housing and land improvement for the provincial governments and these have to take the necessary action. It is the bounden duty of the State to ensure the conditions of good life to each and every citizen. The combined resources of the State alone can cope with the task. If this is unaccomplished a healthier and active race cannot be developed out of the present enfeebled stock of population. Closely allied to this problem is the humanitarian treatment that must be shown to our prisoners in the different jails.[1] Prison reform in the Western countries is considered as an educational process yielding economic gain to the society out of the industrial output of the prisoners and personal advantage to the prisoner when set at liberty.[2] The treatment accorded to the prisoner specially to the political prisoners is not praiseworthy and social justice requires that the minimum standard of living of these classes should be maintained. The other recommendations of the Indian Jails Committee should be carried out as early as possible.

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[1] See New Towns after the War." pp. 41-42.

"A revitalised citizenry" is essential for securing economic progress. The conditions which lead to ruin and decay in rural and urban communities would have to be destroyed and the well-being of society rests on the wider application of scientific research not only in the field of industries and occupational diseases but also in building and designing our cities, in promoting health administration, providing recreation, and developing transportation thus contributing to all-round development of the social well-being. Social legislation might be "a complex calculus of good and evil" and a question of "probability and degree" as Prof W. Stanley Jevons might put it but it is essential in the present state of our society.[1] Social legislation is a part of the law of progress and tends to make society strong and secure and its success has to be measured not in £. *s*. *d*. but in the far more elusive standard of vitality and health. Voluntary effort must also play an important part in public health matters by directing and stimulating the activities of the local authorities, educating the people and stimulating official effort.[2]

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[1] The imposition of fetters on long-term prisoners for safe-custody has to be discontinued. The corporal punishments meted out by the Superintendents must be reduced in number Even the Inspector General of Prisons, Bengal, recommends the very same measures. See the Administration Report of the Jails, 1924, pp. 1-4.

[2] The Juvenile Jail is more a penal establishment than a reformatory institution. The manufacture of quinine tablets is a useless occupation which does not benefit them when released out of jail. The prisoners under Section 109 C. P. C., who are awarded simple imprisonment for about 6 months consider the jail as "a residential club" for planning mischief for the future. The enforcement of the Bengal Children Act (1922) must no longer be delayed.

B. Ramachanrda Rau

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[1] See W. S. Stanley Jevons, The State in Relation to Labour, p. 16.

[2] See B. G. Bannington, " English Public Health Administration, " p. 322.

SOME FEATURES OF HOOGHLY IN THE EARLY COMPANY DAYS

In addressing you this afternoon I should remark "Taubah—Taubah" for you, gentlemen, belong to the district and your fathers have lived here before you. Many of you are landowners, and can trace for many years hereditary connection with the district. It savours therefore of presumption that a foreigner and a new-comer should get up and talk to you about your own district. Let me at once assure you that I have no such intention, that I am guiltless of such presumption, and let me take refuge behind the Rai Mahasai and lay the responsibility of my appearance on his shoulders. They are strong enough to bear my disclaimer of his announcement that I should "read a paper on Hooghly" to you. I propose to deal with Hooghly as I have met the district in the course of some research work in which I have recently been engaged, and as that work was largely an enquiry into the early conditions on which the East Indian Company attempted to assess and collect its land revenue, you must bear with me if a portion of this paper chiefly deals with Hooghly as a fiscal unit. By the courtesy of Mr. S. N. Roy, the Magistrate, I was enabled to inspect the Collector's Record Office here, but there was no record in the office previous to 1792, and as my research was confined to the period 1765-1787, this was no use to me: my information is accordingly derived from the minutes of the various Committees of Revenue preserved in the Bengal Government's Record Office and from occasional papers in the Public Proceedings preserved in the Imperial Record Office.

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[1] Read at a meeting, Hooghly Historical Association.

In 1769 the Governor (H. Verelst) and the Select Committee made as full an enquiry as they could of the conditions which then governed the collection of the land revenue and they decided to appoint certain officers to supervise the collections in certain districts. Among these districts was Hooghly, but I understand that the actual district of Hooghly in 1769 differed materially from the Hooghly district of to-day in area, boundaries, etc. In 1772, the Supervisors became Collectors, and, amid varying vicissitudes, the Collectors still remain with us. The first Collector of Hooghly was Mr. William Lushington, who had also been Supervisor of the same district under Governor Verelst. Many of his letters appear in the minutes of the Committee of Revenue (1772-74), but his letter-book appears to have perished: there is no trace of it in the Record room of the Hooghly Collectorate nor in the Bengal Record Office. As Collector, it fell to his lot to institute in this district the Diwani Adalat Court: the administration of Civil and Criminal Justice was a matter of some nicety as the Faujdar of Hooghly was a very important officer, and the Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction had to be kept from infringing each other's sphere of action. Mr. Lushington in a letter to the Board, which is embodied in the Board's proceedings for February 10th, 1773, gives some details of the difficulty which he incurred in making a revenue settlement of the district. He complains of the confusion and difficulties created by the various duties levied by authorised and unauthorised people in *ganjs* and certain roads:

> "The like confusion, I believe, prevails in the rates and names of duties in almost every part of the country, if I may judge from any observation on these particulars in this Collectorship. I speak from a lively sense of those difficulties which have so often perplexed my endeavours to adjust the differences between the merchant and the chokidar, and a thorough conviction that the interest of the public as well as that of individuals equally require more simplicity and greater provision in the regulations conducting this land."

Mr. Lushington thought with very good reason that personal investigation was the best foundation for such knowledge that a Collector could require of his district, but the Board and the Court of Directors were invincibly opposed to the idea. The Directors, because they did not trust these officers; and the Board, partly, because they wished to carry out the wishes of the Directors and partly, because Governor Hastings threw the whole weight of his influence against the decentralisation of the revenue administration; in this he was inflexible, much to the detriment of the administration and the country. In the years 1774-1781 many suggestions are received not only from the district officers, but from the Provincial Councils, that touring was absolutely essential to a proper understanding of a district or division, but the Board turned a deaf ear to them all. However, I think it is true to say that Hooghly was the first district from which the proposal was made, and therefore Hooghly can claim to be, if not the parent, at least the grandparent of that system which now makes the tour-programme such an important feature in the working year of the executive officers of Government.

But this is not the only field in which the Hooghly district can claim to be a pioneer and to have shown the way to the rest of India. In 1778, the first Bengali grammar printed in this country was printed at Hooghly by Mr. Nathaniel Halhed, an officer who had already distinguished himself for his scholarly knowledge of Sanskrit, as the Board's proceedings for December 2nd, 1777 testify—let me read the extract:

> "Mr. Halhed and Mr. James Anderson have by an uncommon attainment of the most learned and useful languages which are spoken or read in India, entitled themselves to the benefit of this encouragement,"

—the encouragement was a small gratuity in money.

I am aware that Serampore claims the honour of the first printing press in India, but the Government Records themselves are an uncompromising denial of this assertion. Marshman and Carey did not arrive in Serampore before 1799 and could not have set up their printing press before 1800. Halhed's grammar was printed at Hooghly in 1778, 21 years before the missionaries arrived in Serampore in order to print this work. Halhed set up his own press and while engaged in the work of printing he met the lady who became his wife. She was Helena Ribaut, daughter of the Governor of Chinsura, which was then a Dutch town. To be the father of the Press in India is, in my opinion, such a great achievement that I trust I may be pardoned if I quote in full from my article in "Bengal Past and Present" on this event.

> "The type for the press was cut by Mr. Charles Wilkins, another Bengal Civilian who afterwards became the first Librarian at the India House, as it was then called: the fore-runner of the modern India Office in Whitehall."

In the Governor General's proceedings in the Revenue Department for January 9th, 1778, a minute from the Governor General is embodied which was as follows:—

> "The Governor-General lays before the Board the specimen of a Bengal Grammar written by Mr. Halhed and intended to be printed by Mr. Wilkins, which has been presented to him by those gentlemen and he recommends it to this Board as a work highly meriting their countenance and patronage. Besides the great labour and assiduity which have been bestowed upon it, a considerable expense has already been incurred in the prosecution of it which, if the Board concur in their opinion of the utility of such a publication, they will doubtless think it reasonable to reimburse. He will not at this time offer that or any other proposition to the Board or anticipate the judgment which they may pass upon it after examination, but will content himself with simply recommending it to their perusal."

Between that date and February 20th no further mention is made in the Revenue Board's proceedings of the work but on February 20th, 1778, the Governor General brought the matter before the Board and offered to meet the cost of printing the work from his own pocket pending the sanction of the Directors at home.

His minute is as follows :—

"On the 9th ultimo I recommended to the consideration of the Board and to their patronage a work jointly undertaken by Messrs. Halhed and Wilkins which I thought likely to be attended with great advantages to the service. I mean the composition and printing of a grammar in the Bengali language. At the same time I laid before the Board a specimen of this performance already executed. This I understand to be nearly one half the work. It is my opinion, and I hope the other members of the Board will agree in the same sentiments, highly deserving not only the encouragement but the substantial assistance of Government. The original composition is, I venture to pronounce on my own judgment, correct and not devoid of elegance. The form in which it is proposed to appear for the sake of giving it publication is the effect of an attempt hitherto untried in this country and has been executed with a degree of perfection which might have been expected only from long practice and successive improvements. The Board will judge whether in the present state and constitution of the Government it ought to be reckoned a part of its duties to encourage the efforts of genius or facilitate the introduction of new arts by which the despatch of business may be quickened or even the general intercourse of society rendered more practicable. For my own part yielding to the impression of this principle......I have given every aid to the undertaking which it was in my power to afford it. It was begun and continued by my advice and even solicitation. It has been attended with much trouble and some expense. To encourage the prosecuting of it, and to compensate for the time they shall have bestowed in it, I venture to recommend that they be both directed to prosecute it under the sanction of Government with a promise that the whole impression when finished, which will amount to 1,000 copies may be taken as the property of the Company and that a gratuity be allowed to the present proprietors of Rs. 30 for each copy, to be distributed at the same rate to such of the servants of the Company or others who may choose to take them......as I am well convinced that I shall have no risk in what I now add. I request that the Board will permit me to receive from the Company's treasury for the above purpose the sum which will be required for it on my giving a bond for the amount......

The remainder of the Board resolved, on the motion of Mr. Francis, that five hundred copies should be printed at the Company's expense, instead of 1,000, and that the whole Board and not the Governor only, should be responsible for this decision.

This was unanimously agreed to.

On April 20th twenty-four separate impressions of the first book printed in India were sent to the Court of Directors and those books were printed in Hooghly 22 years before the press at Serampore was set up. On January 8th, 1779, all district officers were informed by an official Circular letter that a Government press had been established for printing "all such papers as will admit of being printed whether in the Persian, Bengal, or Roman character." I shall not trouble you much longer, for many of the incidents of historical interest at this period immediately connected with Hooghly are as well known to you as to me. I need hardly call your attention to the fact that Hooghly was a health resort for the officers stationed in Calcutta; that Warren Hastings, and Philip Francis frequently visited it; and that Colonel Monson died here. I wonder if the house in which he died still stands, and if so, where it is situated. I have seen the actual letter, preserved among the Imperial Records, written in haste by Mr. Thomas Farrer to Warren Hastings, dated September 25th, 1776, announcing briefly Colonel Monson's death at Hooghly and that his body was being brought down for burial in Calcutta. Even so stern a master of his emotions as Warren Hastings must have read that short note with a quickened pulse because it indirectly announced to him that he had regained a majority in the Council and, thereby, the control of the Company's administration in India, after nearly two years of rancorous opposition: one of the points at issue between Hastings and his Council was the appointment of the Faujdar of Hooghly. One remaining feature however, I cannot pass over, before concluding.

You will remember that the Regulating Act (13 Geo. III) introduced into India a Supreme Court, and that at a very early date this Court came into collision with the revenue administration by interfering with the acts of the Courts of Diwani Adalat, whose jurisdiction was exercised by the Provincial Councils. I do not propose to go into the long and bitter history of this struggle; among the six Provincial Councils was that of Calcutta, usually known as the Calcutta Committee of Revenue. At the time of which I am speaking, namely about 1779, this Council contained two very distinguished servants of the Company, *viz.*, its president, Mr. David Anderson, who had been one of the compilers of the Amini Report of 1778, and Mr. John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth and Governor General of India.

All through the Spring of 1779 letters and protests had poured into the Board from the Company's district officers and agents against the interference of the Supreme Court in the Revenue administration and the use which was being made of the Supreme Court by unsuccessful suitors in the Diwani Adalat Courts to frustrate the decrees of the latter Courts. The Advocate General, Sir John Day, was constantly being called upon for his opinion. Matters reached such a pitch that Mr. John Shore submitted to the Calcutta Committee a refusal to take over the superintendency of the Diwani Adalat attached to that Council, on the ground that in doing his duty to the Company he might have his personal property confiscated by some decree of the High Court casting him in damages for acts done in his official capacity. Finally, in order to escape the humiliation which the Supreme Court's decrees were inflicting on it, in 1780, the Calcutta Committee of Revenue transferred its quarters, with the Board's sanction, to Hooghly, so Hooghly became for a time the seat of what may be termed the Presidency Division.

These are only a few instances, of the importance of the Hooghly district at a critical period of the Company's History:

it would be profitable and interesting if this Society could set itself to investigate and establish the topography of the same period. I have asked where the house was in which Colonel Monson died. I might extend the list of enquiries, where was the house situated which Mr. Lushington built which afterwards became the house of the Collector of Hooghly? Where were the Courts of Diwani and Faujdari situated? Where did the Faujdar of Hooghly live? I am sure that it is not too late to obtain much of this knowledge: and that reminds me of a great difficulty which a former resident of Hooghly accidentally solved for me. I was searching everywhere, without success, for a set of the accounts usually kept by a zamindar; I saw a book advertised for five shillings in a Scottish bookshop's catalogue labelled "Zamindari Accounts!" I sent the money and waited for nearly two months in patience; then to my great delight arrived a book, containing specimens in Bengali and English of a complete set of the accounts kept by a zamindar, with full and complete examples. It was drawn up in 1823 by D. C. Smyth, Collector of Hooghly, after whom "Smyth's ghat" is named.

Lastly, we in Chinsura-Hooghly district can claim to have led the way in promoting the welfare and comfort of millions. I do not exaggerate. Some ease-loving Dutchman invented the swing-punkah and introduced it into Chinsura, superseding the old hand-fans: think of the comfort that simple device has brought: like so many benefactors of the human race, there is no mark of gratitude raised to the inventor. We do not even know his name. When I regard some of the effigies that disfigure our public places, I mentally take off my hat to that Dutchman and trust that he is being fanned by the breezes of Paradise.

Well, I will not trespass longer on your patience.

Printing, punkahs, official touring, all originated in this district and we can challenge any other locality in India to show any single invention, let alone three, which has more contributed to the development of modern India. We are overshadowed by noisy jute mills and the metropolis barely recognises our existence, but we have our memories and pride; and we, both residents by birth and by official connection, are content to feel that we are the legatees of no mean traditions.

R. B. RAMSBOTHAM

VIA LUNA

Lost in the Valley of vague Unrest, groping along
In bewilderment, caught by the glamour of false lights
Which, when pursued prove but chimeras;
The mere visualized expressions of yearning and hope,
Empty of themselves and crumbling at first touch.
Wandering amid the murky shadows of Unreality, I chanced
One inght to look above the level of the stifling Valley;
And lo! serenely sailing on the ethric waves
Came the new moon, like a white gondola, hailing
From a distant Port.
This gentle craft gave me to Dream.

LILY S. ANDERSON

THE ETHICAL THEISM OF RAMANUJA[1]

Philosophy seeks the reason for the verities of life. It strives to discover the "open secret of the world." The philosophic vision is synoptic—a vision that sees "all" the facts in their inter-relationship. Partial and piece-meal views of reality seldom satisfy the philosopher. His sole aim is to narrate the one tale of everything.

The quest for world-wisdom has been peculiarly fascinating to philosophers in all ages and countries, with the result that to-day we have quite a respectable amount of philosophical heritage, in the shape of so many systems of thought. The aim of this paper will be to set forth in outline the ethical theism formulated by Ramanuja.

I

At the outset, it is necessary to state briefly Sankara's position, in as much as both Sankara and Ramanuja claim to interpret for us the essential teaching of the Upanishads, the Brahma-Sutras and the Bhagavad Gita, but curiously enough, succeed in giving us two different lines of speculation.

To Sankara the whole universe is one, Brahman, "one only without a second." It is pure thought, inexpressible, incomprehensible. All determinations vanish like clouds before the characterless unity. It cannot be called good or bad. It is neither ugly nor beautiful. The one reality, then, is devoid of qualities, is without differentiation. Sankara's Brahman is just Spinoza's perfectly undetermined Substance. If Brahman alone is real, what about the world of experience? It is Maya. Avidya or ignorance causes the appearance of plurality. The multiplicity of things and persons is real only for practical purposes. It is the object of the lower knowledge, while the higher knowledge has for its object Brahman. Because it is Maya that gives rise to the appearance of multiplicity and individuality, man obtains release from the trammels of earthly existence by true knowledge, Vidya, the insight that he *is* himself Brahman. (*Aham brahmasmi, Tatvamasi.*) Salvation, thus, is a way of knowledge, and not a way of acting. Man does not become divine ; he *is* divine. He has only to pierce through the veil of Maya and cognise his divinity. The released soul, Brahman, is beyond morality and religion, because it is featureless. Moral life and religious experience are possible only when the person believes in the ultimate existence of God, who is the Good. Morality and religion, says Sankara, are for man only so long as he is bound by Maya to the practical world. But there he can derive religious satisfaction by worshipping an Isvara, a personal God who, however, is as unreal as the worshipper. Isvara exists " illusively in an illusive world."

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[1] Read before the Indian Philosophical Congress.

II

Ramanuja finds that this is no resting place for thought. Maya is a central factor in Sankara's system. It enables him to explain away multiplicity. It is because things are enveloped by Maya that they appear multiple. Ramanuja convincingly points out that Maya must go. It threatens the claim of Brahman to be the single, absolute reality, " one only without a second." Sankara grievously fails to solve the problem of the One and the Many. To say that individual things and persons are lost in Brahman and that the apprehension of separate appearances is only an illusion, is to blink the problem, not to solve it. The world of things and persons is real. Multiplicity is a fact. Perception tells us so. The central formula of Advaita philosophy, " Thou art that," so far from denoting an undifferenced identity, clearly implies distinction, Besides, Brahman which devours all differences is a nonentity. It is scarcely distinguishable from Nothing. It is "a mighty Darkness filling the seat of Power."

Sankara's philosophy is too intellectualistic to lay firm hold on the head or heart of men. Reason is taken to giddy heights from which it declares that feeling and action are for ever destined to live in the world of phantasms. Pure intellect may lead us to dialectical triumphs; but it ends in reducing the world to "an unearthly ballet of bloodless categories." Reason, when pushed to the extreme, finds its own *reductio ad absurdum*. There is something which discursive reasoning cannot penetrate to the full. That is why the Upanisadic thinkers were never tired of repeating that Brahman is not reached by much speculation. Brahman is not the end of a syllogism. "Conviction can only come by living, not by merely thinking." Wordsworth in the same vein says—

"Thro' love, thro' hope, and faith's transcendent dower,
We feel that we are greater than we know."

Thomas Hardy says—

"Loosed from wrings of reason,
We might blow like flowers,
Sense of Time-wrought treason
Would not then be ours
In and out of season;
Loosed from wrings of reason
We should laud the Powers."

A true philosophy must satisfy the head and the heart, both the speculative and the practical reason. Man's feeling and will constitute as much of his personality as his intelligence. The hard facts of ethical and religious life should be explained. "Any theory of the universe which neglects the facts of will omits that which seems to communicate a living reality to the whole." "It is in the will, in purposive action and particularly in moral activity that we lay hold upon reality." Creation of the Good and the Beautiful no less than the apprehension of the True must be our ideal. This does not mean that emotion should lead and that reason should obey. Emotion can supply the energy, but not the insight. Emotion is "a strong but skittish horse that is capable of doing excellent work but requires a strong hand at the reins and a clear head behind." The intellect shall rule. It shall continue to be the highest court of appeal. Only it must be comprehensive. It must find room for Ethics, Aesthetics and Religion.

Sankara's Advaita Vedanta fails to satisfy our moral and spiritual aspirations. Is it not effrontery to say that morality and religion are valid for practical reasons, though essentially unreal? Religion and morals do not belong to the "dreamland of picturesque fancy."

Morality cannot thrive in the absolute monism of Sankara. There can be no ethical life if Brahman is regarded as characterless unity. Morality demands that Brahman should be conceived as the Eternal Good-ness, who is the source of all our ideal. That the Good is supreme in heaven and earth, that the world is a moral order, is an ethical postulate. If permanent self-hood is an illusion, the notion of duty loses all its significance. The moral "ought" does not apply to a self that is non-existent. Our will must be real, if ethics has a meaning. Moral consciousness tells us emphatically that we are as truly distinct from God, the source of our being, as we are from our fellow men. Besides, there is little sense in saying that questions of morality apply only to the lower world, but are transcended in the higher. If moral values are real, they are real at all times. Else, they cease to have any significance. In short, morality demands permanent individuals, and a First Principle that is the Good, the guiding star of all progress. But according to Sankara, individuality is an illusion occasioned by Avidya. The only reality, Brahman, cannot be called the Good. How, then, can his system accommodate morality in its scheme?

Similarly, religion finds no congenial home in the unflinching monism of Sankara. The distinction he draws between the God of religion and the Absolute of Philosophic Speculation has no warrant. Isvara, the personal God, is a concession to ignorant minds. Isvara, the God of the practical world, is so much of an unreality, that "the name God applied to it has the sound of Mephistophelian mockery." All this is fine "dialectical idyll." "Theism," says Macnicol, "of course cannot recognise this pinchbeck deity." Impassioned religious experience always exhibits the spirit of adoration. The object of adoration must be such that one can love it with all his heart, and mind and strength. "The Being than which none greater can be thought"—this alone can be an object of devout worship. "The wise man," the *Arhat* of Buddhism, has failed to move men's hearts, because he is only a glorified man. For the same reason, Hegel's State, could not long evoke love and adoration from religious minds. Comte's Humanity fares no better. The finite God of Hastings Rashdall is too limited a deity to afford spiritual satisfaction. For the ethical religion, God must be infinite in his qualities. He must be clothed in ethical and moral grandeur. The spirit in all Spirits, the Righteous God, must be intrinsically complete and perfect. The religious consciousness, as truly as the moral consciousness, vouches for dualism. A sense of distinction between the Supreme Source of existence and the dependent souls is vital in a religious experience. The devotee has a sense of the personal presence of God, together with a feeling of individuality which nothing could shake. The conviction that God loves his devotees is also predominant. And certainly God could not love persons who are essentially unreal. He loves a being who could love him in return. Thus, Sankara's Isvara does not answer to the true ideal of Godhead. His Brahman makes individuality a phantasm. The rigorous monism he preached is opposed to all spiritual and moral values. Ramanuja proceeds to show that Ethical Theism makes human actions intelligible, "makes them more than a shadow fight or aimless phantasmagoria."

III

A belief in his own self as final and unanalysable is brought home to every self-conscious individual. No argument could shake this bedrock of certainty. Man discerns that the self in him is a unifying principle. This unity maintains and develops itself in and through infinite diversity. Thus man is aware of a self in him which is one and infinitely complex. It is the unity of the organic whole. The reflective mind also realises that this self is a centre of activity. He feels that he is free to direct his actions. This constitutes his highest glory and greatest responsibility. "In the purposive 'I will' each man is real and is immediately conscious of his own reality." In the manner of Descartes man could argue very well, " I will, therefore I am." In his freedom to will, to perform purposive action, he realises beyond measure his individuality or selfhood.

"Man partly is, but wholly hopes to be." The true self is not found; it has to be achieved. The individual moral agent believes in the greatness of his destiny; he finds that the self is moving towards the goal of its own ideal of spiritual perfection. He is gradually working out his own spiritual evolution. His self is an ever-developing, ever-widening principle. Evolution has taught us that a developing series can only be understood in the light of the end. Hence the divine nature of the spirit, the dignity of man is grasped only in the light of his ideal end, which is nothing short of the realisation of the cosmic or universal ideal—

communion with the World-spirit. In short, man is indubitably certain of a self in him, which is a unity, unity-in-difference. This self is not completely realised. The progressive purification of his spirit is his own act. His capacity to will tells him that he is a free agent and that he could walk for ever in the Godward path.

From his conception of the microcosm, man derives his idea of the macrocosm; from the subjective he proceeds to the objective. He saw amidst the stream of his mental states a single unifying principle,—self. Now he sees a similar spirit at the centre of the entire complex of intelligent and non-intelligent beings. He gets an insight into the unity and kinship of all that is. Ramanuja secures the unity of the Universe without sacrificing its multiplicity. The All is One. The Supreme Spirit lies at the heart of "all the choir of heaven and furniture of the earth," and unifies them into an ordered whole. "All are but parts of one stupendous whole, whose body Nature is, and God the soul." Everything is embraced in the unity and harmony of a single system. Outside the sublime spirit of the Universe there is neither life nor being. The world is not an illusion, but it exists in Him. Matter and Soul find their eternal abode in Him.

This sublime spirit, the Essence of things, is Purushottama. Ramanuja conceives of him as endowed with every perfection. "He is a magnified and glorified replica of what is best and highest and most real in man." God is not intelligence as Sankara would have it. According to Ramanuja, God is intelligent, merciful, and righteous. To him belong the attributes, Truth and loving-kindness. He is omnipotent. He is the source of all power. The individual soul has freedom to do what he likes. Only his freedom has certain limits.

The Spirit of all spirits is not the transcendent God of the Deist. He is not sundered from the life of the universe. A transcendent God standing aloof from the drama, "a spirit beyond the stars," is a mere stage manager, almighty watchmaker. Nor is God identical with the world process. He is not exhausted by the world of things and persons. Ramanuja holds before us the lofty conception of a God who is at once immanent and transcendent. He is immanent in everything; he rules the universe; He is the Inner Controller. He is the "Ocean of Life" in which we live, move and have our being. He is the ever-present life of the world. The world of men and nature is pervaded by one power, wisdom and purpose. The In-dwelling Spirit is also the Eternal Beyond. Psychology tells us that our knowledge of our own self is quite limited. The known Self is compared to the visible part of the spectrum. Just as there are innumerable rays of light on either side of the scale, ultra-violet and infra-red, there are phases of self that are yet undiscovered. When this is the case, it is no wonder that God is transcendent, that the full nature of God "passeth all understanding." He is the ever-receding goal; he is *in* the world, and *beyond* it.

The individual soul is endowed with a free-will. It is a moral personality. Ramanuja rightly emphasises the autonomy of the soul in determining its destiny. Salvation is wrought out in man's own life. For Ramanuja, liberation is not, as with Sankara, a way of knowledge, but essentially a way of life. Knowledge is not release; release has to be sought. Through strenuous effort, one has to fashion the Godlike man after the model of the Supreme Soul. One has to organise his whole life, conserve his whole nature and walk the Godward path. It is by putting forward one's exertions that one is redeemed. Man has to depend upon himself for salvation. The oft-quoted line

> "They also serve who only stand and wait."

goes wide of the mark. The whole end and aim of existence is to become like God, to hold Communion with the spirit of the universe with whom the soul is bound by ties of love.

Liberation is not the extinction of individuality. On the other hand, selfhood or personality gets spiritual expansion. The soul is possessed of inalienable individuality, which undergoes purification, expansion and enlargement when it traverses the upward path. The animal in man is sacrificed; the baser parts of the self suffer a natural death. Salvation is a case of "Dying to live" in this sense alone. The soul never dies in the sense that it loses its individuality.

Sankara's "impersonal system of thought harmony" turned, at the hands of Ramanuja, into a fascinating Ethical Theism. Ramanuja granted reality to the human soul and the world of Nature. They are reclaimed from the world of phantasms to which Sankara banished them. The world of Nature is not a dream world. The individual soul is recognised to be a personality deliberately organising its life and conduct for the fulfilment of a purpose. Theism asserts the rights of the individual life against the all-devouring Brahman of Sankara. The recognition of the worth of individuality gives infinite value and significance to human life.

The Ethical Theism of Ramanuja gives us a philosophy of religion and life by placing at the heart of its system a God who is omniscient, merciful, compassionate, the *Purushottama*. In the face of this Divinity, the Isvara of Sankara is an apology for a God. Ramanuja's conception takes firm hold of the heart of the religious devotee and the moral hero, and is responsible for the fashioning of the Godlike man after the same model. Thus it succeeds in establishing the supremacy of the Highest Human value.

It might be suggested that this is anthropomorphism, that it is after all man's conception of God, and that it should be transcended. True, it is man's way of conceiving God but under the circumstances, nothing else is possible. One can sooner ask man to cast off his shadow than ask him to throw away the human way of interpreting things. Man can conceive of God only on lines suggested by the human mind.

To say that philosophy is an attempt of the human mind to divine the secret of things is not to brand it as untrue.

The existence of suffering, evil, and ugliness, is often regarded as a serious obstacle to Theistic philosophies. How can Theism, it is demanded, reconcile its perfect God with the stern reality of sin and suffering? The existence of moral personalities is a postulate of theism. They are truly moral agents, they are held responsible for their actions, just for the reason that they are free to choose the good or the evil. A person who always does nothing but the right, cannot be called free or moral. His actions are as determined, as non-moral, as the actions of the machine. The very idea of a moral person implies the possibility of evil. As for suffering, the truly moral life is a hard struggle with Nature "red in tooth and claw." Moral activity is action along the line of the greatest resistance. Absolute moral worth attaches only to that life which struggles with an unfriendly and intractable environment, and with its own limitations. The discipline of suffering is indispensable for the fashioning of the moral life. Thus, the Ethical Theism of Ramanuja satisfies our intellectual, moral, and spiritual aspirations.

R. RAMANUJACHARI

NIRVANA

That which is the end of saints,
The supreme ecstasy of their hearts,
In which their desires are entirely merged,
Their strength lies secreted;
That which is in words unspeakable,
—The state of the soul of peace is Nirvana.

That which shuns fleshly lusts,
Is calm and unmoved by itself,
In which is quenched the fire of passion
Of greed and mist of illusion;
That which is in words unspeakable,
—The perception of the devotee is Nirvana.

In which the heart is steady in temptation,
The soul is not overcome in trial,
And knowing joy and sorrow to be illusion,
The soul ever enjoys peace;
That which is in words unspeakable,
—The passion's extinction is Nirvana.

The light which is lightened by the Super Light,
The eye is opened which is the third,
The life which is unified with the Brahmic,
As a water drop with the ocean;
That which is in words unspeakable
—The burying of the self is Nirvana.

The river calls out to the ocean,
"Lettest the twain become as one,"
That the finite may evolve into the Infinite,
And the soul become the Brahmic;

That which is in words unspeakable,
—The adept's blessed sensation is Nirvana.

What am I and where do I abide,
When answered such questions are,
And the self's distinctiveness is done away,
And the self disappears in Him;
That which is in words unspeakable,
—That mysterious feeling is Nirvana.

Desires sacrificed to the Primal Spirit.
Every act to it is an offering made,
The mind seeking the good of every living thing
For love, whose flower-petals do not fade;
That which is in words unspeakable,
—The saint's glorious state is Nirvana.

If death is not the end,
—Goings forth again and again in births—
The soul's entry into the Soul which changeth not,
But breaks the bond of births and deaths;
That which is in words unspeakable;
—The soul's coveted state is Nirvana.

Merging one's self in the Eternal One
Is not losing his self in Him,
But is finding his real self at last
On sense's disillusioning;
That which is in words unspeakable,
—The part's realising the Whole is Nirvana.

When lifting up the veil
The soul to see her Beloved,
Is surprised to find her Beloved is none but she,
And is overwhelmed with wonder and joy;
That which is in words unspeakable,
—That ecstatic vision is Nirvana.

When the soul from outside
Calls out, "Lettest thee go in,"
And from inside the door is opened,
And they meet and become one;
That which is in words unspeakable,
—That mystic union is Nirvana.

At death man finite,
As he is, goes to the finite;
If by his will he enters into the Soul Infinite,
Enters he into the Infinite;
That which is in words unspeakable,
—That sweet perception is Nirvana.

The soul abiding in the body,
Has neither beginning nor end,
But that is the real man,
And he will return to Brahma;
That which is in words unspeakable,
—That inward consciousness is Nirvana.

With Holy Brahma has ancient relation,
—The feeling sundering the bondage of sin—
Is filled with Him and full of His nature;
"I-am-He" feeling gives ecstasy;
That which is in words unspeakable,
—"I-am-not-I" thought is Nirvana.

The seeker is lost in Whom he seeks,
Yet in Him consciously lives,
—In consciousness of real self instant salvation
And life's goal reached;
That which is in words unspeakable,
—That secret sensation is Nirvana.

It is not self-annihilation,
—To be is the essence of being—,

Unthinkable is conscienceless existence;
It yearns not only to live in itself,
That which is in words unspeakable,
—To live also in all and all is Nirvana.

The spirit of love is in such yearning,
That yearns to be identified with all;
Love cannot let itself live alone,
Nor let others live apart;
That which is in words unspeakable,
—Of such nature is Nirvana.

A being cannot conceive its non-existence,
Rather it yearns to live more
To realise the whole of itself,
And be everybody else besides;
That which is in words unspeakable,
—To be infinite and everlasting is Nirvana.

A Sea separates this land and yonder,
A vast surging sea,
But they are one at bottom I trow,
I live there ever ceaselessly;
—That which is in words unspeakable
That is my Nirvana! Nirvana!

The sages of ancient days,
Full of wonderful gifts of the spirit,
Realised what Nirvana was,
Not known to us of now
Poor in that supreme attainment,
We know not truly what Nirvana is.

G. C. GHOSH

EDUCATION AND POLITICS

I am writing this article from the standpoint of one who in spite of active participation in the politics of non-co-operation as evolved under the masterful lead of Mahatma Gandhi never lost sight of the paramount place of education in all constructive plans for nation-building. Those of my countrymen who have followed the trend of my journalistic and allied activities since 1922 and have read my books are aware of one basic fact, *viz.,* that while extremely critical of the methods and ideologies back of our secondary schools and most of our big factory-like colleges, I have been assiduous in the task of protecting (according to my light and humble capacity) from insidious invasion and penetration my *alma mater*, the University of Calcutta. I have specially been zealous of the reputation and power for good of the Post-Graduate Department of the University where the foundations of a revival and readjustment of our national culture in its varied aspects have been truly and well laid. Even in far-off Burma I made it clear to all that the culture-activities of the two colleges constituting the then University of Rangoon (I am speaking of 1923, 1924 and 1925) had my sincere good-will and I tried to do something to bring the currents of the University's placid academic life into touch with the eddies of Asiatic thought and specially Indian thought. That is why I tried my humble best to introduce men like Mr. C. F. Andrews (who to my mind is the perfection of a transfigured Western culture harnessing itself in truly evangelical spirit to the service of the East) and Dr. Beni Madhav Barua, the reputed scholar of Buddhistic lore in the University of Calcutta, to scholars and University men in Burma. That is really why I took such an active part in organising cosmopolitan demonstrations in honour of Dr. Tagore when he so kindly halted at Rangoon (in response to our invitation) *en route* to China.

What I am attempting to say through these rather personal reminiscences is that politics may come and politics may go but education is a national asset, the very bed-rock on which all collective progress depends and without which all schemes of Swaraj within or without the British Empire federation are bound to wither into Dead-sea apples. To-day I feel and I feel it in every fibre of my being that the time has come in Bengal to co-ordinate, correlate and interweave the strands of activity of which Asutosh Mookerjee and Chittaranjan Das were the outstanding symbols. The work in the University and that in the Congress and legislatures has got to be so inter-crossed that the warp and woof of a new politico-educational texture may emerge into coloured radiance.

The University has got to be further democratised and the Congress has got to be further initiated into the mysteries of the educationists" cult. For whatever course politics may take in the near future, whether responsive co-operation succeeds the present cult or whether *responsive* co-operation with the *Bureaucracy* is linked up with *responsible* co-operation with the *masses* in the rural area, it is admitted that unless we can "educate our masters" (to quote Sir William Marris's expressive phrase) on the only lines possible and practicable, *viz.*, the advancement of the villager's economic prosperity and the strengthening and stiffening of the villager's stamina in all directions, all political slogans and war-cries will be in the end mere catch-phrases which will not deceive anybody but the unwary. And this work of educational reconstruction can be taken up in hand, in Bengal at any rate, at once by the middle class *intelligentsia* who really *are* the University of the future. No scheme of secondary education brought into being by red-tape *ukases* from Government House with its elliptical thunders and tortuous detonations will have any chance in Bengal. Any new organisation that might be created for evolving a new type of public schools here with *enrichment of average character* as its objective has got to be a people's affair and may not be a superimposition. Cess or no cess, tax or no tax—that is the affair of Bengal's people—of the people who are in the cities and district towns as much as of those who live a life of drab semi-nudity and semi-starvation in the villages. *The attempt to officialise secondary education and to make teachers and boys subservient tools of a merely administrative machinery must be resisted from the very start.* And the sister Universities of Calcutta and Dacca, Dr. Tagore's Viswa-Bharati University at Santiniketan and similar agencies, big and small, have got to link up with educational workers in East and West Bengal who, comparatively unknown to the world of culture, are fighting against heavy odds to promote a system where the life of the villager and the village ryot and artisan of all grades is made the pivot of educational effort and where social service and physical fitness are stressed as much as mere capacity to earn a living.

It is an acknowledged fact that the secondary schools and the colleges at present linked up with the Universities have hardly been drawing any nourishment from the 'virgin soil' of Bengal. They have been fifth-hand replicas of European things at the start (five decades ago) and to-day they are educing very little of resistant capacity and resilient intelligence. It is a trite thing to say that they are slave-manufactories by which is meant that the majority of their *alumni* are men and women who have not the courage to face facts and fight for a better world. And Bengal is going downhill even in the race for moral and intellectual supremacy which once was hers throughout the vast Indian continent.

We have to evolve a method by which the country's past traditions are interwoven into her now shaping history—by which the home, the school, and the big world outside may be an inter-locked linking. We want agents of instruction who will not only cram the dulled brain with a mass of ill-assimilated information but *stimulate thought*: we want agencies which will not only by a system of vocational training train up artisans and foremen and scientific journeymen but which may touch and quicken the live wires of the youthful mind and heart, stiffen the will to live as much as the will to die for a cause.

Unless our secondary schools become the arsenals for producing such virile, manly, self-reliant types, the higher bodies called colleges will simply hasten the moral inertia and cultivate the scissors-and-paste pedantry which are the bone of our higher education of to-day.

Neither active research nor the dissemination of learning, nor the problem of a living wage for our men, nor the problem of the country's defences which we must tackle (and rather sooner than later)—will be solved unless the people are roused to a sense of their duty in this matter of educational regeneration. To this end I am tempted to make the following tentative proposals in the hope that it may lead to informed discussion and subsequent activity.

(*a*) The Universities of Calcutta and Dacca should in consultation with the Santiniketan group of educational workers and the heroic band of workers (alas, too few!) in village national schools, frame a *questionnaire on the elementary needs of typical rural areas* in Bengal with regard to education.

(*b*) A *census* should be collected by an *Information Bureau* formed for this purpose as regards the trades and industries and professions from which our pupils from village school to University post-graduate courses are recruited, the percentage from each group that finds employment under various agencies and also from that big remainder which goes into the world for a tough fight for an independent income—how much of it really earns and pushes on and how much is mere wastage and the distribution of these groups by professions and income.

(*c*) Active propaganda should be carried on for impressing on the country-side the urgency of better-equipped schools.

(*d*) The teachers' organisations should be linked up—and college teachers and elementary school teachers should be encouraged to organise themselves as the secondary school teachers are doing.

(*e*) The possibility of agricultural colonies and spinning and weaving colonies being linked up with a system of *fruitful accessory* instruction should be more actively experimented upon.

(*f*) The question of the physique of our boys and the question of compulsory military drill and training in school and college should be actively discussed with a view to the elaboration of a workable scheme of physical training.

(*g*) And, lastly, the question of *limiting the numbers* in our educational seminaries has to be considered.

To my mind *the Calcutta University should take the lead in this matter of educating public opinion in these matters of moment.* For, after all, it is the accredited custodian of the advancement of learning in Bengal, and all learning from the three R's up to the highest research is one undivided kingdom; also no Political Swaraj will ever evolve without our striking manfully for that Educational Swaraj which was the life's consecration of Asutosh Mookerjee, than whom there was never a better constructive worker anywhere.

NRIPENDRA CHANDRA BANERJI

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THREE TEACHERS

(*A few personal notes.*)

During the last four months I have had to mourn the loss of three of my old teachers—Prof. Christian Bartholomae, Prof. Sitaram Dinkar Ghaté and Prof. E. G. Browne. This was the order in which they passed beyond but I would like to speak of them in the order in which I knew them.

Prof. Ghaté, who was leading a life of retirement at Indore during the last few years, began his career as one of the favourite pupils of the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. He graduated with distinction in Sanskrit at the University of Bombay and then joined the staff of the New High School in Bombay as the Senior Sanskrit Teacher. It was here that I came under his influence. He was a short portly man at that time, and had a very kind face and gentle eyes. I very well remember how he examined our class in Sanskrit in December, 1894. I had begun to learn Sanskrit only a few months before and as a Parsi I was considered to be rather a plucky little fellow to have chosen such a difficult language in preference to Persian. The choice was never my own, but I was forced into it by my father. No doubt my being a Parsi had something to do with the result, when I found to my joy and surprise that I had beaten my Hindu friends. Mr. Ghaté was our examiner and he congratulated me upon the result and then he opened his rolled-up bag of *pān-supārī*[1] and took out a bit of betel-nut and offered it to me as a prize. It was not its value but the spirit in which it had been offered and the gentle, kindly look of encouragement that accompanied it that I have valued ever since. Since that look I never

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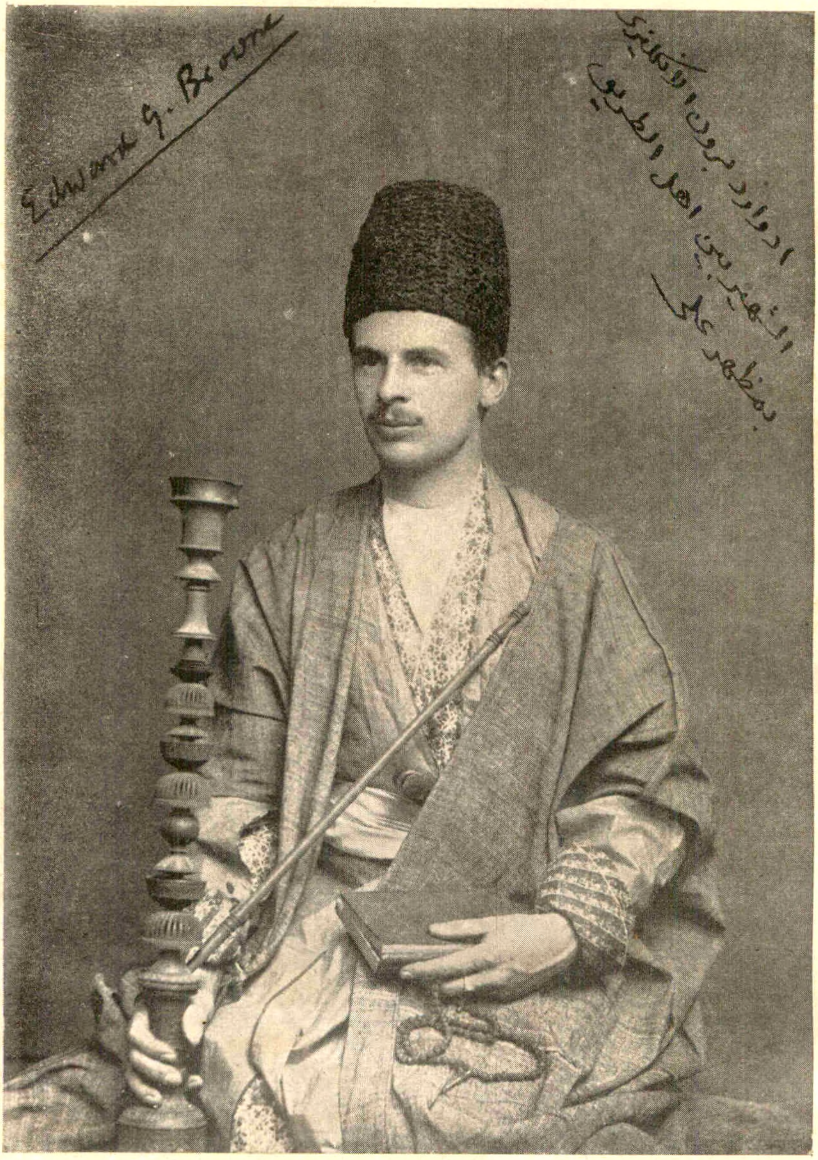
[1] The Marathas in Bombay carry a small cotton bag furnished with little pockets in which they carry *pān*, *supārī*, cardamoms, tobacco, etc. It is rolled up tight and put into the pocket. This is called *chamchī* in Gujarātī and often serves as a purse as well.


Edward G. Browne
ادوارد براون انگلیزی
الشهیر بین اهل الطریق
بمظهر علی

THE LATE PROF. EDWARD G. BROWNE

(From a photo kindly lent by Dr. Abdulla-al-Mamun Suhrawardy) faltered in my allegiance to Sanskrit, I never again thought of changing the language for an easier one. The next year (and during all the years up to Matriculation) Mr. Ghaté was our teacher. His method was the old-fashioned grind and memorising, but he took great pains to be sure we did not merely learn by heart without understanding. Every step was clearly explained and the grammatical drilling we had in those years was an excellent preparation. He used to ask us the "Perfect, 2nd dual, ātmanepada of—" or "Dative plural, feminine of the present participle, parasmaipada of—" and the answer had to come *within five seconds.* It made us alert and within two years there were few grammatical forms we could not recognise or give out. He introduced us to the *Amarakośa* and made us learn a good bit out of an abridged edition of the work called *Amarasāra.* He also introduced us to Sanskrit literature and made us appreciate the literary beauties of Sanskrit poetry and drama. That we were able to appreciate (of course with school-boy appreciation) scenes from *Śakuntala* and *Mālatī-mādhava*, and that we were able to read and understand *Kumārasambhava* and the verses of Bhartṛhari after two years of grind under Mr. Ghaté speaks volumes for the pains he took over us and for the thoroughness with which he did his teaching. Though he taught us grammar in the old-fashioned manner still he was sufficiently advanced at that period (I am speaking of the nineties of the 19th century) to appreciate the value of direct study of literature. In his manners he was kind and gentle, never losing his temper and was always very patient in spite of our inattention. His strongest word for an inattentive boy was *bōmbyā* [1] followed by a smile. The last time I met him was a few weeks after I had passed my Matriculation and a few months before he was appointed Professor at Indore. He was well pleased at my success (for he always had a tender corner in his heart for his Parsi pupil) and told me about life at the College and how best to study there. I am glad to think now that I followed, partially at least, his excellent advice. That was twenty-seven years ago. But still I can bring before my eyes the kind man clad in Maratha fashion, red Maratha shoes on his feet, a pearl earring in his right ear, bareheaded (for he always took off his turban in the class) his eyes beaming encouragement through his spectacles and his head swaying in unison with the grammatical paradigms he is repeating. And I offer my humble tribute of affection and gratitude to the gentle, unassuming and truly learned *Guru*, who taught me first to love Sanskrit and who, while leading me through the mazes of Sanskrit grammar, also taught me that a great scholar can live and work amidst very humble surroundings.

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[1] I believe (subject to correction by Marathi scholars) that the word means "one who causes his relatives to wail."

Professor Browne of Cambridge has achieved a world-reputation as the foremost authority of his time in Islamic studies. When at Cambridge I had requested him for permission to attend his classes in Persian and Arabic, which he gave most readily and I always enjoyed these classes immensely. His knowledge of Persia and Persian was profound in the truest sense of the word. I think there are few, even among Persians, who know the language and literature so well as Browne did. His knowledge of Arabic and Turkish was equally great. And I have often heard him speak these three languages as fast as he talked English. He has given a short account of how he (a medical man by training and holding the M.D. degree) came to be the Professor of Arabic at the University of Cambridge.[1] He had always been attracted to Persia and the Persians and after passing out as a Doctor he made up his mind to enter the consular service. But he thought he might as well have a holiday in Persia. One of his objects in visiting Persia was to get some first-hand information about the Bab and his teaching. It was while there that he got news of his election as a fellow of his college in Cambridge. That determined him in the final choice of his career as a teacher of Arabic and Persian in his University. I am not enough of a scholar of Persian to be able to judge at their true worth his numerous volumes on Persian and Islamic literature. What I desire to record here is merely what impressed me during the time he was my teacher. The first impression was that of a man of considerable depth of purpose. One felt that he had deep attachments and also as deep hatreds. His love for Persia always bubbled over as also his attachment to the Islamic world. His hatred (I cannot use another word) for Germany and Russia was as great and as abundantly made clear. In Cambridge his lectures were made more interesting because of the enormous mass of historical, geographical and other information he gave regarding Islamic lands. He read with us, besides the texts prescribed for the examinations, modern newspapers, notably the *Habul-matīn.* He never minced his words in expressing his opinions and he used to be particularly bitter over the Anglo-Russian agreement with regard to Persia. An anecdote illustrating his love for Persia may be fittingly told here. He was at a meeting of friends of Persia at the Persian Consulate in Paris. He was requested to speak and gave a fine address of half-an-hour's duration in French. Then he said that he had so far spoken in a foreign tongue and he could not very well express himself, so with their permission he would speak in his mother-tongue. And he spoke *in Persian* for half-an-hour more! Persian was his second mother-tongue, for though a Britisher in body he was a Persian at heart and he loved Persia with a passionate devotion which few, even among Persians, could have shown a generation ago. He lived long enough to complete his encyclopaedic *Literary History of Persia* and he must assuredly have observed with pride and joy the signs of the rejuvenation of Persia during the last few years. He is gone but his writings will live to inspire students for generations to come, both with their profound erudition as well as with the spirit of selfless love for Irān that shines through each one of their pages.

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[1] A Year among the Persians.

Professor Bartholomae did for Ancient Irān what Browne did for Modern Irān. He was the greatest authority on the Avesta and Pahlavi writings. He was a man of untiring industry and the proverbial German capacity for going into the minutest details. I met him at Heidelberg some fourteen years ago and was fortunate enough to be accepted as a pupil. He was my *Guru* and initiator into the *Śāstras* of my own religion. A tall well-built man he was, but with one leg short; so his gait was halting and slow. His room was full of books and papers from the floor to the ceiling. He accepted me as a pupil and though it was holiday time he agreed to read with me regularly for an hour every morning. His explanations were lucid in the extreme. In fact I have never met any teacher so clear as Bartholomae. My holiday was limited but even in that short time he laid the foundation so secure that I have been always sure of my ground ever since. He taught me what German scholarship meant. His monumental work is his *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (Ancient Iranian Dictionary), a work unique of its kind in conception and design. That it should record all the words found in Avesta and Old Persian is to be expected. But this Dictionary is much more than that. It quotes practically every passage wherein the word occurs, and it gives references to every book and paper wherin a particular word or passage has been discussed and, it attempts to reconstruct the *living* language of ancient Irān out of the fragments that are left. His other two works on "Middle Persian Pronunciation" and on "Sassanian Law" are also great works in their way. It is sad to think that his last days were rendered unhappy. He was one of the victims of the War. His only son fell on the field of battle, and he, in common with so many other brother Professors, fell into poverty. Still his studies never flagged nor were his powers dimmed.

He has trained two Parsis—Dr. J. M. Unwala and myself—and we hope we may be fortunate enough to carry on the great work of our *Guru*. To equal him is not possible ; it would be enough if our work is not thought unworthy of his teaching. He has lived his life as a true scholar, a faithful devotee of learning and has left us the inspiration which only a great and loving teacher can give.

I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA

FROM DARJEELING

I. I Close My Eyes and Listen.

I close my eyes and listen to the song of life :
The soft wind whispers secrets in my ears
And drops chill kisses on my lips and brow.
Cicadas shrill in rhythm, like a vast
Fairy orchestra tuning instruments
On different keys, yet all harmonious.
I hear the lambkins calling to their dams
In plaintive minor notes along the hills,
Where the lush grasses grow and cattle browse.
I hear a dog's loud bark of joy afar,
And laugh of children merry in their play.
I hear a rooster boasting of his zeal,
And cackling hens, who shrill applaud their lord,
Within the harem where he reigns supreme!
I hear the echo of a Lama's drum—
Somewhere a funeral is passing by—
The zooming horn sounds forth a mournful dirge;
They pass—once more I list the song of life.
I hear the pipes of birds, so wondrous sweet
That for a space they shut out lesser sounds;
Birds of India—with *Kamuc* songs that thrill!
I hear the leaves soft rustling on the trees—
And chant of coolies as they mend the road
Afar, and yet the rhythm comes to me
As I sit silent, wrapped in golden rays,
A gorgeous *sari* spun in Heaven's looms!
I contemplate, I merge myself within
The soft, insistent song of vibrant life...
All harmony and rhythm vast and sweet,

That on my heart-strings play in heavenly thrills,
And answer to the music of the spheres.

II. I ope' My Eyes and Gaze.

I ope' my eyes and gaze into the heart of life:
I see a sky as blue as Heaven's peace—
And silver clouds, like angels floating by
On wide-spread, snow-pearled wings, aglow with light!
I see Himalaya's lofty, white-draped range,
Seeking to pierce the azure and find God...
The seven lesser ranges at their feet
Enwrapped in purples, blues and greens; and hills
Where dappled shadows play in varied tones—
I sense their songs—they do not reach my ears.
I see the flocks that graze on herbage lush,
A shepherd stands anear with crook in hand—
Lean, brown and tanned by India's burning sun—
And on a flute he plays most tunefully.
I see a cloud of butterflies awing,
Like living flowers tossed into the air
By fairy hands...they seek the Cosmos near—
Those flowers whose hearts are galaxies of stars.
I see a little temple where prayer flags
Wave, to keep the evil ones afar...
The bare-foot pilgrims bear their marigolds
And offerings unto the shrined gods.
I see the coolies climbing the steep hills,
Low bowed beneath the baskets on their backs
All filled with tea, plucked from a garden near;
They do not mind their burden, for they sing.
I see a woman passing—on her arm
Hang many strings of beads from far Tibet.
Her hair is braided and twined 'round her head,
Her ornaments proclaim her caste and creed—

A Bhutanese, with beaming face and smile—
With beads and Koa, and bangles on her arms,
And large ear-rings of coral and turquoise...
She smiles, salaams, and passes on her way.
I see the pointed spires of dark, fir trees
That climb the hill, to reach the ancient shrine
Where Buddhist priests forever twirl prayer-wheels,
To gain them freedom from this sad earth life,
That they may merge into Nirvana's peace.
I see that all things seem to strain, to climb—
To fly, to seek—all filled with Cosmic Urge
To find the self-same thing: it beckons on—
They seek for life; for vibrant, fuller life—
They seek for immortality and love—
And so I join the great processional;
For I too seek for life, and love and God!

III. The Feast of Lights.

Come, my Beloved, 'tis our night of joy—
Our night when *Kama* reigns within the heart!
We'll *pooja* make, for 'tis the Feast of Lights,
And all the stars outshine within the sky
As though in *Durga's* honour burnished new.
I've marigolds to garland thy fair form,
And *champa*-buds to twine within thy hair.
Thine eyes are all the lights my soul desires—
Let others light the candles on the shrines,
And fashion wreathes to hang above the doors—
I only need thine arms to garland me;
I only need the jewel of thy lips
To crown my brow—a diadem for kings!
Come, my Beloved, we will *pooja* make
Beside the stream, beneath the tamarin trees—
Where fire-flies alone shed their soft lights,
And stars peep through the leaves with happy eyes.

From the bazaar we'll hear the tom-tom's beat,
And list the revellers passing by in throngs,
And vibrate with the temple-bells aswing.
To-night's the Feast of Lights—the Feast of Love...
Come, my Beloved, my arms yearn for thee,
And all my heart outbursts with sacred flames!

IV. The Chotar Daisies.[1]

Have you seen the chotar daisies
That ring-around the Mall?
They cling close to the rugged rocks
As tho' they feared to fall!
They twine and climb to reach the top,
Where stands a Buddhist shrine—
Like tiny stars down dropped from Heaven,
In beauty there to shine.
Have you seen their saucy faces,
In frills of pink and white?
I believe they turn to fairies
And dance there in the night,
With grey-winged moths and fire-flies,
Till Morning comes in sight,
Then back to daisies swift they turn,
To fill us with delight!

V. The Fox-Gloves.

I wonder what's gone with the foxes?
I'm sure they were here in the night—
They've left their gloves all over the hills—
The lavender, rose, pink and white.
They must have come down in battalions,

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[1] The beautiful little white and pink daisies that grow so luxuriously in Darjeeling are really indigenous of the Alps, and were imported to the Himalayan Hills many years ago, and there they have found a congenial home.

And worn gloves on both hands and feet,
To have left such stacks of wee mittens,
So dainty, so soft and so sweet!
We must treasure and keep them in safety,
I am sure they will seek them again—
For these golden days are fast passing,
And soon will return the cold rain.—
But then, let's not think of to-morrow,
Just enjoy the fox-gloves to-day—
For beauty, like spring-time, is transient,
So let us be glad while we may.

VI.—Himalayan Forget-me-not.

They are but humble, tiny flowers,
That grow amid the grass,
And peep out with their bright, blue eyes,
As tho' to watch one pass.
They are such dainty, little things,
Like bits of fluff from blue birds' wings.
And yet so perfect in design,
And blue as lazulite—
I think they fell from out the sky—
Dropped from the lap of Night;—
Or, He who fashioned them with care,
Placed them for our joy just there.

VII.—The Spiders.

The spiders were holding a carnival
Around the Mall this morn—
Their fine, silken tents were pitched far and near
On shrub, and fern and thorn;
With jewels of dew they glistened and shone,
Those silver wheels of light—
Arachne must have helped with her skill

To weave them there last night !
And yet 'tis believed that the spiders
Are only wicked trolls—
Without any feeling or conscience,
And without any souls.
But are they worse than we humankind,
Who set forth trap and snare,
To tempt the unwary folk of the woods,
Whose feathers and furs we wear?
Are they worse than we of intelligence,
Who pander to appetite,
And slay all manner of beast, fowl and bird?—
Pray who is wrong and who right?
We can learn from the diligent spiders
Lessons of patience and art,
In the weaving of our houses of Life,
From what we store in our heart.

TERESA STRICKLAND

BRITISH FAR EAST DOMINION POLICIES AND PEACE

"Singapore was selected (as a great Naval Base) because it covers the approaches to India; the trade and the ocean communications of the Indian Ocean, because it covers the sources of oil supply of Burmah and Persia; because it flanks the line of approach to Australia and New Zealand; because labor and material are available, and periodical docking is essential to maintain the speed and endurance of the fleet."—*Admiral Beatty.*

Problems of population, raw materials, control of trade routes, control of markets and national pride are the prime factors in international discord. In the question of future relations between the East and the West, the population problem is going to be of tremendous consequence. Some of the scholars of the West are facing this problem in an unbiased fashion and they do not hesitate to speak against the so-called White Australia Policy. An English authority on the population problem speaks of it in the following way:—

"There is the problem of the East and the West ....This is largely a population problem and one of the toughest. For even now the people of Japan are seeking an outlet for their surplus off-springs and finding the coasts of North America and Australia barred against them by western armaments. Can we tell them that they must limit their numbers while Europe continues to increase and spread its children over the whole of the earth? That is the attitude which is tacitly adopted by America and Britain at present; but it is not easily to be reconciled with international justice. Moreover, the claims of the ancient East are now put forward by Japan in a language which Europe understands, the language of modern armaments. What if the teeming population of China were equipped with the latest weapons of destruction ?... ..The White Australia Policy by which a population considerably smaller than that of London claims a whole continent and excludes Asiatics not only from the district now inhabited, but also from the tropical North where European settlement has not been successful, is typical, if extreme, instance of the attitude which the white man has adopted. The implication is that the Asiatic is not only different from, but inferior to the European. Whether this can be justified scientifically is at least doubtful. To reconcile it with a future of peace and disarmament is impossible."[1]

The whole case for the White Australia Policy has been admirably summed up by Myra Willard in her study on "History of White Australia Policy"; and the following passages will give the salient points:

"The fundamental reason for the adoption of the White Australia Policy is the preservation of a British-Australian nationality......Australians believed that......Asiatics would be equally dangerous to their nationality, whether they remained an alien element in the population, or gradually fused with them. In the latter case, the result of the fusion would be radical, though gradual alteration in the political and social institutions of the people, a result which, according to Australians, intent like all nations on self-realization, would be a calamity, for it would be the death of British-Australian nationality. Experience of Chinese immigration, however, convinced them that the more likely result was that the non-Europeans would remain a people apart....From the very beginning, the people of Australia, recognised that Asiatic immigration would establish a '*sore*' which in their opinion would grow into '*a plague spot impossible to eradicate*'......The presence of numbers of Asiatic people of the laboring classes would, in the opinion of Australians, prevent the growth of the democracy which they had already begun to form. These immigrants seemed unfitted to exercise political rights and incompetent to fulfil political duties. 'Our objection to Asiatics', said Mr. Millen in the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, 'is not so much that they may belong to this or that race, as that we regard them as unfit to take part with us in the duties of citizenship. We are not prepared to extend to them the privileges of citizenship, nor can we expect from them its obligations.'"[2]

She further says:

"Australians believed not only that Asiatics in fairly large numbers would be dangerous to the political life of the community, but also that

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[1] Wright, Harold: Population. The Cambridge University Press, 1923, pp. 122-23.

[2] Willard, Myra: History of White Australia Policy. Melbourne, University Press, 1923, pp. 188-93.

> their presence in Australia would be an external danger as well. To withhold full rights of citizenship from any considerable number of Asiatics whom they allowed to enter, would probably be felt as an insult by the nations from which these immigrants were drawn, and which might justly demand equal treatment for all aliens...The quick progress of Japan, the awakening and consequent advance that was anticipated on the part of China, after her humiliating defeat at the hands of her small vigorous neighbor, made Australians, for these reasons among others, hasten the completion of their White Australia Policy."[1]

Behind the advocacy of the Singapore Base, there is among other things, the fear that the people of Asia under the leadership of Japan would challenge the White Australia Policy. It has been pointed out that

> " the Prime Minister of Australia (Mr. Bruce) recognises the vital necessity for the establishment of the Singapore Base....Mr. Bruce is aware why Singapore is a paramount necessity to Australasia—to check Japan's Pacific designs. Is it not the route *viâ* the Suez Canal to China and Australasia? Hence its position is of unbounded strategic importance to Australia......The Prime Minister and his colleagues are firm believers in the White Australia Policy. How is the policy to be retained? Not by scrapping the Australian Navy; not by allowing Australia to remain in a state of defencelessness. Can Australia depend for its protection on the League of Nations?—with its 550,000,000 Asiatics, [the author seems to have excluded the population of India because, Great Britian controls that country] all of whom, especially the 70,000,000 Japanese, are implacably against the exclusion of colored races. Australia must prepare systematically to defend herself; New Zealand must be awakened to the defencelessness of Australasia. ..The Asiatic menace in the Pacific is becoming more and more formidable. The earthquake of September 1923 [in Japan] impaired not her Navy—admitted by the Japanese Minister for the Navy, in the Diet in January 1924. She is still, an ambitious Naval power...."

No less an authority [2] than General Smuts, in supporting the policy of abandoning the Singapore Naval Base scheme as enunciated by the ex-Premier of Great Britain, the Right Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald, held that increasing fortification at Singapore would be in violation of the spirit of the Washington Conference. In a telegram sent to the British Government on March 7th, 1924, the veteran South African Statesman said:

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 191.

[2] Marks, E. George: Watch the Pacific. Sydney, 1924 (see the preface of the book).

> "Your proposed statement of policy meets with my whole-hearted agreement. Purely on the ground of Naval strategy Singapore Naval Base may be a sound proposal, but the authority of the British Empire as the protagonist of the great cause of appeasement and conciliation among nations must be seriously undermined by it. I welcome the abandonment of this scheme. *Proposed Base, while technically outside the limits of the Pacific pact made at Washington, would be out of keeping with the Washington agreement. At a time when we should move forward with clean hands and unchallenged moral authority this would be steps backward.*
>
> "I would be loath to dissociate myself from the Prime Minister of Australia and New Zealand, and I sincerely trust that your action will meet their acquiescence not only on the grounds stated above but also because no promise of real security is contained for them in Singapore. For European troubles will probably synchronise with any future tension in the Pacific and make it out of question to move the whole or large part of the British Navy to Singapore. Even from the point of view of the future security the better way is to make the bold move you propose towards enduring peace conditions." [1]

The Australian Government, protesting against the policy of abandoning the Singapore Naval Base scheme, held that the peace of the world does not depend so much upon the League of Nations as upon the strength and prestige of the British Empire; and without a strong Naval Base at Singapore, British strength in the Pacific will be decreased. But the Government of New Zealand made a significant statement of the situation. Among other things, the statement contains the following:

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[1] Singapore Naval Base: British Command paper 2083 published by the British Government on March 25th, 1924. Italics are mine.

"It has been stated in no uncertain terms by the foremost Naval authorities available that, without a properly equipped Base, a modern fleet cannot operate, and in the opinion of these authorities, for the protection of those portions of the empire which are situated in the Pacific and in the Indian Oceans, there is no place so suitable as that which may be provided at Singapore. This matter intensely concerns Australia, India, and a number of Crown Colonies who are looking to the present British Government to remember that every citizen of the Empire and every country in the Empire are entitled to protection from possibility of attack by a foreign foe. It is well to remember here that Singapore is intended not for offensive but for defensive purposes and that no more of a threat would be entailed to Japan by the establishment of a naval base at Singapore than is entailed to the United States of America or any other foreign Power by the existence of Gibraltar.

"The New Zealand Parliament voted one hundred thousand pounds, and it will not stop at that. In recent years America has fortified Pearl Harbor in the North Pacific and it is now said by well qualified naval experts to be impregnable, and the naval position of America has been strengthened accordingly. The United States of America is fortunately a friendly nation and will remain as such for centuries to come, so far as it is possible to judge, and I hope for all time. Separated from the heart of the Empire by thirteen thousand or fourteen thousand miles of sea, we in New Zealand realize what it means to be insufficiently protected. We have not forgotten what was suffered by the Royal Navy and the British Mercantile Marine in the Pacific during the years of the Great War, and we hoped that the lesson taught then would not be so quickly forgotten.

"You say that your Government stands for international co-operation through an enlarged and strengthened League of Nations. I feel that I must reply to that by saying that it may turn out to have been a pity that the League was ever brought into being if the defence of the Empire is to depend upon the League of Nations only. The very existence of the Empire depends upon the Imperial Navy, and if the Navy is to operate successfully in the event of war, it must have suitable bases where repairs may be effected and from which to work. Malta is the nearest suitable base at present and it is 6,000 miles away, and therefore, for the purposes of capital ships in either the Pacific or Indian Oceans, it is of no value. It has been said by an eminent authority that, 'Unless such a base as that contemplated at Singapore is established it will be an absolute impossibility for the majority of Empire Capital ships to operate to the eastward of

Suez for the single reason that they cannot dock either for the purpose of cleaning and so keeping their speed or being repaired.' It may also be pointed out that although the League of Nations is undoubtedly an influence for peace, hostile action as between nations has not so far been prevented by it.

"Owing to the alteration in ship designs since the Great War, I may remind you that docks which before 1914 could have taken certain classes of war ships, will not now accommodate ships of similiar tonnage, and so the present standard of naval efficiency cannot be maintained, without effect being given to the proposals regarding Singapore.

"I protest earnestly on behalf of New Zealand against the abandonment of the proposal to make Singapore a safe and strong naval station, because I believe that the Empire will stand as long as Britain holds the supremacy of the Sea, but, if naval supremacy is lost by Britain, the Empire may fall, to the detriment of humanity as a whole as well as of its own people, and it is surely the duty of the British Parliament and British Ministers to see that there will be no danger of such a catastrophe so far as it is humanly possible to prevent it."[1]

(*Sd.*) JELLICOE.

The Japanese Government is discreetly silent regarding the Singapore naval and air bases. The other day Baron Shidehara, the Japanese Foreign Minister, refused to answer when he was asked, if the Japanese Government would raise the question of Singapore Base during the next Disarmament Conference if it be called by President Coolidge. But, Japanese Public opinion is alert and sees that the Singapore naval base is directed against Japan. In discussing the Singapore naval base question, Osaka Asahi says :—

"Before the World War, Great Britain concentrated her naval forces in the North Sea to provide against German invasion, leaving the defence of her interests in the East to the Japanese Navy. The Imperial Navy took up the responsibility of defending India, Australia and Singapore, for the sake of Japan's former ally. When Great Britain overpowered her dreadful antagonist and destroyed her enemy fleet, she abrogated the alliance with Japan only to maintain her good relations with the United States. As it is, Great Britain may find it is her duty to safeguard her interest in the East with her own navy.

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[1] British Government Command Papers No. 2083, published March 25, 1924, pages 8-9.

"But, as a result of the Washington Conference, the so-styled Four Power Treaty was concluded to take the place of the Anglo-Japanese treaty of alliance in order that Japan, Great Britain, the United States and France may guarantee general peace and their mutual interests in Asia. We do not see any necessity for Great Britain's despatching her powerful fleet to the East even though the Anglo-Japanese treaty of alliance has long been abrogated.

"If Great Britain insists upon despatching her powerful fleet to the Far East in order to rival Japan in sea power, the Washington Treaty will be invalidated. The treaty had better be abrogated, for it will not be powerful enough to assure the safety of British possessions and Dominions in the East.

"It is contended in certain sections that the Singapore Base will maintain the peace of the East as well as the territorial integrity of Great Britain therein, but this contention is entirely worthless. The fortification of the port excites the ill-feeling of the Japanese towards their former ally. It will break down Japanese sympathy towards Great Britain, and it is harmful to our mutual good understanding. The naval base at Singapore will greatly endanger the peace of the East instead of safeguarding it.

"What may be the motive for which the British Conservative Government has decided upon the construction of a naval base at that port? Suspicion will say that the scheme is a promise to British activities in the Far East with the aid of the United States, or else British professional militarists, whose practice has been to maintain their position by emphasizing the existence of a menace to British interests in the Far East, may have found British rivalry in Japan and the United States whom they regard as having taken the place of formidable Germany. *But, Great Britain being in a position to court favor of the United States they may have selected Japan as their objective.*" [1]

It seems clear that the Singapore naval base is directed immediately against Japan and ultimately against the supposed Asiatic menace to white Australia. It has been well said by an Australian authority that

"an emphatic reminder to Japan is the Singapore Base—that Great Britain is still Mistress of the Seas, that it is her national duty to her children overseas to make adequate provision for their safety—from Asiatic conquest. Publicists of the U. S. A. divine the reason for the Singapore Base; aware against whose ambitions it is aimed; aware that the impregnability of Japan, in the Western Pacific gives a new complexion to the Washington Conference. The U. S. A. must inevitably support Great Britain in all projects that make for the safety of the Pacific."

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[1] Italics are mine.

This author further sees that Anglo-Japanese naval rivalry is inevitable, as it was the case between Great Britain and Germany in the North Sea. He thinks that the Washington Conference Agreement will not be able to preserve the peace in the Pacific.[1]

"The fact significant is that, Great Britain is intent on the creation of a great formidable naval base at Singapore—apprehensive of the growing ascendancy of Japan in the Pacific; apprehensive of Japan's silent methods of acquiring absolute ascendancy in the Far East. *Destined is this base to reproduce in the Pacific-the pre-war naval rivalries of Great Britain and Germany in the North Sea. When the U. S. A. considers that the national safety prompts the establishment of a great base in striking distance of Japan it will follow the example at Singapore.* The Washington Conference has only temporarily abated American suspicions of Japan in the Far East; the U. S. A. has no love for Japan; Japan has no love for the U. S. A.; the underlying provisions of the Washington Conference will subsist only as long as it suits the signatories; the neutrality of Belgium was respected by Germany only as long as it suited her; when such neutrality interfered with her strategic designs on France she ignored the treaty—she was a signatory; that was not an isolated instance; many such instances there are in history."[2]

American publicists and even retired naval officers are in favour of the establishment of a strong naval base at Singapore, and Mr. W. H. Gardiner, the Vice-President of the Navy League of America, in an article published in the

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[1] Marks' E. George: Watch the Pacific. Cole's Book Arcade, Sydney, 1924, p. 55.

[2] *Ibid*, p 54. Italics are mine.

The United States Government, following the footsteps of Great Britain at Singapore, is determined to establish the most formidable naval base in the Hawaaian Islands. The major part of the American Fleet is already in the Pacific and made a demonstration recently in Australian waters.

November issue (1924) of the *Fortnightly Review* of London, has among other things expressed the following view :—

"It may be well to recall that, in 1923 the external trade of the British Isles—upon which most British Labor there lives directly or indirectly—amounted to nearly two billion pounds (2,000,000,000) of which about half was carried by the Pacific and Indian Oceans, while in the same year the external trade of the United States which has been increasing most rapidly in the Orient, was about four-fifths as large as that of the British Isles. With such ideals and interests at stake, it would seem patent that the practical and peaceful way for Americans and British to maintain them would be for each to hold its pivotal position and dependent possessions in the Far East with such evident firmness as to make obviously futile any attempt on the part of the Japanese to carry out their southward-tending Marine plans.

"What idealism Europe and America may each indulge in at home, the fact remains that modern Asia at least is as much a realm of realism as was ante-bellum Germany—a realm in which practical conditions must be met by America and Britain each holding its pivotal position and dependent possessions with such evident firmness as to make any attempt against them obviously futile.

"The American Fleet is not so strong as it permissably should be... The British Fleet is without an adequate and permissible base in the Pacific...*It would seem to be to the interest of Americans as well as Britons that the construction of such a British base as that planned for Singapore be delayed as little as possible.* [1]

It seems to us that Anglo-American co-operation in World Politics, especially in the Far East, has become a settled policy between the two English-speaking nations. In this connection, it will not be out of place to quote a few passages from the writings of the Hon. Walter Hines Page, the late American Ambassador at the Court of St. James.

"Proud as Sir Edward Grey was of his country, he was modest in the presence of facts ; and one fact of which he early became convinced was, that Great Britain could not win unless the United States was ranged upon his side. Here was the country—so Sir Edward reasoned—that contained the largest effective white population in the world ; that could train armies larger than those of any other nation ; that could make the most munitions, build the largest number of battle-ships and merchant vessels, and raise food in quantities great enough to feed itself and Europe besides. This power, the Foreign Secretary believed, could determine the issue of the war. If Great Britain secured American sympathy and support, she could win; if Great Britain lost this sympathy and support she would lose. A foreign policy that would estrange the United States and perhaps even throw its support to Germany would not only lose the war to Great Britain, but would be perhaps the blackest crime in history, for it would mean the collapse of that British-American co-operation, and the destruction of these British-American ideals and institutions which are the greatest facts, in the modern world. This conviction was the basis of Sir Edward's *policy from the day that Great Britain declared war. Whatever enemies he might make in England, the Foreign Secretary was determined to shape his course so that the support of the United States be assured to his country.*[1]

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[1] The italics are mine.

This policy adopted during the World War and long before it, has not been abandoned by the British Government, because the United States has become mightier than before and her friendship is never so valuable to Britain as to-day. In a letter written to Colonel House from London on December 7th, 1915, Ambassador Page said:

" If Uncle Sam agrees (and has a real navy herself), he will wink at John Bull and John will follow after. You see our blackleg tail-twisters have the whole thing backward. They say we truckle to the British, my plan is to lead the British—not for us to go to them but to have them come to us. We have three white men to every two white men in their whole Empire ; and when peace comes, we will be fairly started on the road to become as rich as the war will leave them. *There are four Clubs in London which have no other purpose than this ; and the best review* [*The Round Table*] *in the world exists chiefly for this purpose* [*to preserve peace through Anglo-American co-operation*].........I cannot impress it on you strongly enough that the English-speaking folks have got to set the pace and keep this world in order. Nobody else is equal to the job. In all our dealings with the British, public and private, we allow it to be assumed that they lead ;

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[1] Hendrick, Burton J. : The Life and Letters of Walter Hines Page, Vol. 1, Doubleday Page and Co., New York, 1924, pp. 366-367. Italics are mine.

they do not. We lead. They will follow, if we do really lead and are courteous to them. If we hold back, the Irishman rears up and says, we are surrendering to the English! Suppose we go ahead and the English surrender to us, what can your Irishman do then, or your German? *The British navy is a pretty good sort of a dog to have to trot under your wagon. If we are willing to have ten years of thoughtful good manners, I tell you Jellicoe will eat out of your hand.*"[1]

It seems that during the last ten years, the Anglo-American relations have gone through a tremendous change; and to-day America is leading and Britain is anxious to be with America so that there will be Anglo-American co-operation in world affairs. Thus we hear, from British Cabinet Ministers to common journalists, that Britain refused to adopt the Geneva Protocol because the idea contained in the Japanese Amendment was not acceptable to the United States of America. We also hear that Britain is fortifying Singapore with a naval and air base, not for the protection of the British Empire alone, but for extending support to America in case Japan attacks the Philippines.

Ambassador Page felt that because of America's support to Britain during the World War there will come about a lasting friendship between these two nations; and he wrote:

"It is this steadfastness in them (British people and statesmen) that gives me sound hope for the future. They do not forget sympathy or help or friendship. *Our (America's) going into the war has eliminated the Japanese question. It has shifted the virtual control of the world to English-speaking peoples. It will bring into the best European minds the American ideal of service. It will, in fact, give us the lead and make the English in the long run our willing followers and allies. I do not mean that we will always have plain sailing. But I do mean that the direction of events for the next fifty or one hundred years has now been determined.*"[2]

It is generally contended by the friends of Great Britain that the British Navy is not a menace to any nation, but it is an agent to promote peace and freedom. But Spain, Portugal, Holland, France, Russia, Germany and Austria may not agree with the above assertion. Indeed Turkey, Egypt, Persia, India, Burma, Siam, China and Japan, in the past, experienced the gigantic power of the British navy, to further the ideal of extension of the British Empire at the cost of other nations. Even the Americans may not believe that the British navy is maintained purely for defensive purposes and to promote world peace.

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[1] Hendrick, Burton J. The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page, Vol. II. New York, 1924, pp. 103-110. Italics are mine.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 344-345. Italics are mine.

British authorities, even Lord Balfour, have naively pointed out that the mission of the gigantic naval and air bases at Singapore will be merely defensive and no nation has any reason to be apprehensive of British motives. We know that Britain does not like to see France establishing a naval base in Morocco or any place in North Africa, bordering the Mediterranean; we know that Britain demanded internationalization of the Dardanelles, so that British power in the Mediterranean be not challenged. It is needless to emphasize that the so-called defensive agencies, like naval and air bases, are at times very effective instruments for offensive purposes; the best evidence of this is the attitude of America and Japan regarding further fortification of Japanese islands in the Pacific and the Philippines respectively. The Kiel Canal was supposed to be for defensive purposes and the fortifications at Heligoland supposedly had no offensive bearing!

The people of Asia, particularly those of India, China and Japan, are barred from migrating into the most important of the British possessions for permanent settlement. After the completion of Singapore naval and air bases, Great Britain, in all probability, will inaugurate the policy of exclusion of the Chinese and Japanese from the Malaya peninsula and the nearby islands, and thus put a stop to peaceful Chinese and Japanese expansion in the islands of the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Furthermore, Singapore naval and air bases *would make it possible for Britain to establish absolute mastery over the trade route of the Pacific as well as the Indian Oceans.*

It is generally regarded that Japan is the only Power which might resent the establishment of formidable naval and air bases at Singapore. But the fact is that France with her possessions in Indo-China, China with her aspirations to recover full sovereign rights in all Chinese territories including Hongkong, and Russia with her possessions in the Pacific will feel menaced by the increased offensive power of Britain through the establishment of the proposed bases at Singapore. It is evident that Britain with a powerful navy at Singapore may become the dictator of politics and trade in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. America may not resent such a situation, at least for the time being; but other nations will not welcome such possibilities to their disadvantage.

We notice that a new alignment of powers has already begun in the Orient. The recently established Sino-Russian understanding and Russo-Japanese understanding may develop into a Sino-Japanese-Russian understanding. The other day Baron Goto openly suggested that a Russo-Japanese-German Commercial understanding is needed to promote the economic interests of these nations. Economic *ententes* often result in political alliances. British opposition to the aspirations of the peoples of Asia is forcing them to find suitable means to protect their own interests. Whatever may be the motive of Britain in establishing the formidable naval and air bases at Singapore, it will not inspire confidence in the minds of the people of China, Japan, Russia and even France. Great Britain might be expecting American support in her policies in Asia; but India holds the key position. It might be well to ask, if the people of India, now denied the right of self-Government and not enjoying the privilege of controlling the Foreign Affairs of the land, will be willing to fight for Great Britain against Japan, China, Russia, or any other nation. Because the situation in the Orient is unsettled, because there are indications that the people of Egypt, Arabia, Turkey, India and other Asiatic countries want to be free from foreign control, and also because India holds the key position, we find that Earl Reading the retiring Viceroy of India went to England to discuss the situation in India, the Near East and the Far East. We see that Lord Balfour went to survey the situation in the Near East, in special relation to Turkey and Russia. General Allenby is now in England to direct the affairs of North Africa with his expert advice. Britain is fortifying her position in the Far East by establishing the Singapore naval and air bases, which will have tremendous offensive power. But, will it make for world peace?

It is generally understood that with the successful conclusion of the Locarno Conference and the signing of the Treaty of London, (December 1, 1925) the League of Nations is expected to take practical steps to solve the Armament Problems of various nations. It is also understood that President Coolidge is desirous of calling another Conference for Limitation of Armaments in the near future. If the nations participating in these Conferences be called upon to decrease their naval strength (abolition of submarines and reduction of cruisers), will it not be natural for France, China, Japan, and Russia to ask that Great Britain be first induced to stop fortifying Singapore before other nations be called upon to give up their weapons?

The Singapore naval and air bases, advocated by the British Dominions and the British Conservative Government, have become sources of suspicion, fear and rivalry among nations. It may disturb the cause of world peace; and there is every indication that it will. Is there no way out of this situation?

TARAKNATH DAS

THE OUTLOOK FOR WESTERN CIVILIZATION

I—THE LITERATURE OF DESPAIR

I am sitting down to write this paper only a few hours after having accepted the presidency of the University of Wisconsin. As I said in a statement to the press at the time I accepted this post, it was no easy matter to break the ties that bind me to the congenial and challenging field of journalism. But the decision has been made for reasons that seem sound to me, and now for the first time, as I begin the writing of this paper, it fully dawns upon me that for only a few more issues will I have the privilege of talking over with the readers of THE CENTURY MAGAZINE from month to month what seem to me to be the really significant issues of American life and of the Western civilization of which we are part.

I have come to feel an almost personal acquaintanceship with the readers of the magazine, especially with the many readers who have always written to me so frankly their approval or disapproval of the things I have written and of the things that have been printed in the magazine during the years that I, along with my colleagues, have been privileged to edit it. It would be keeping back the truth not to say that I envy the new hands that will direct and the fresh voices that will speak through THE CENTURY MAGAZINE. They will have the challenging job of ministering to one of the most alert-minded and stimulating bodies of readers in the world. I could not wish for any man or any group of men a happier or more invigorating relationship than the relationship I have sustained to the readers of THE CENTURY MAGAZINE, to the other members of the staff, and to The Century Co., the trustees and president of which have always displayed those qualities of intellectual honesty, tolerance, and courage which have made possible a wholly unhampered editorial freedom in this office during the last four years.

But I do not want to fall into ill advised reminiscence. I cannot, however, resist glancing retrospectively over the seventy-five issues of the magazine in which I have written editorial essays ranging from twenty-five hundred to twelve thousand words each. At no time have these essays been written in carefully planned sequence. Only occasionally has the same topic been pursued for a series of issues. I have been, perhaps, unpardonably casual in the month-to-month selection of topics. But, as I glance over these seventy-five numbers of the magazine, I sense a rather decently sustained attempt to consider the problems of contemporary society from the point of view of what, for want of a better phrase, I may call scientific humanism, as distinguished from sentimental humanitarianism.

I do not mean that I see in these hastily written essays any body of nicely articulated social doctrines to which I wish to make fixed and final commitment. I have, on the contrary, consistently fought against the plague of premature conclusions, in the bog of which so much of our thinking is sunk. These essays have been little more than a record of the tentative approaches and suspended judgments of one American who has been trying to make himself at home in the modern world, trying to orientate himself among the new forces that are making this time what it is.

On a far smaller scale and in terms of a much shorter adventure, I have something of the feeling H. G. Wells had when recently he read the proofs of the Atlantic edition of his works.

"The total effect of these articles and these books of mine on my mind," he said, "is of a creature trying to find its way out of a prison into which it has fallen. I recall how in my boyhood I made a little prison of paper and cardboard for a beetle, and how I heard the poor perplexed beast incessantly crawling and scratching and fluttering inside. I forget what became of it. Perhaps I gave it its freedom; perhaps it pressed and worried at the corners where the light came through, and made an enlarged hole and worried its own way out. But I remember the dirty scratches and traces of its explorations on the unfolded paper cage. To a larger mind these books and articles of mine will seem very like those markings."

These papers of mine have been, at best, only beetle scratchings. But for me, at least, if not for the readers, the beetle has caught glimpses of light through some of the corners and crevices, and unless I am wrong in thinking that these papers have more coherence than their publication without topical sequence may have suggested, I doubt that I can do better during the few remaining months of my editorship than to pull together and to weave into something of a pattern the scattered threads of thinking that have run through these pages during the last four years.

§ 2

I shall take as the nucleating centre of this summary or rehearsal the problem with which so many of these essays have dealt directly or indirectly—*The Outlook for Western Civilization.* I shall, in the main, restate and clarify, condensing here and amplifying there as occasion may seem to require, but I shall not hesitate to quote literally any statement which I find it impossible to improve at the moment. Unless the run of the material makes other formulations advisable, I shall review this four-year record of observations under three successive headings:

First, I shall review in this issue the observations I have made from time to time upon the dangers and fears that had led many of the most astute and incisive intelligences of our time to believe that Western civilization is doomed, and that a new dark age lies ahead.

Second, I shall review in the August issue the observations I have made from time to time upon the unused assets of Western civilization, the unharnessed forces of health, the raw materials of renewal that have led a few venturesome minds to believe that the foundations have been largely laid for a new renaissance, and that before long we may see a fresh and fruitful advance of the human spirit.

Third, I shall review in the September issue the observations I have made from time to time upon the leadership of any such renewal of Western civilization, the sources, the problems, and the technic of such leadership.

I turn now to the first of these three reviews—to a review of the literature of despair that has been written by our prophets of doom, reluctant heralds of a new dark age for Western civilization.

§ 3

Since the war there has been pouring from our presses a plentiful and popular literature of despair. Every age, of course, has had its prophets of doom and its literature of despair, but it is our own that we are studying here, and it has its own specific background which must be sketched, if we are readily to catch its particular meaning for us.

At the risk of over-simplification, I suggest that contemporary pessimism regarding Western civilization should be examined in its relation to three brief, but distinct, periods that have culminated in the present spiritual crisis of the Western world. These three periods are:

First, the immediate pre-war period, which was dominated by a new materialism.

Second, the war period, which was sustained by a new idealism.

Third, the post-war period, which has been chilled and arrested by a new pessimism.

The new materialism of the immediate pre-war period is now so starkly evident that no laboured proof or indictment is needed to recall it to our minds. Pre-war politics was dominated by a passion for power at any price; pre-war business was dominated by a passion for profits at any price; pre-war society was dominated by a passion for pleasure at any price. These three passions had produced the perilous trinity of imperialism, industrialism, and hedonism which cast over Western civilization the shadow of a bleak and barren materialism.

The spiritual fires of Western civilization were banked, if not burned out. And, as I said three years ago in these pages, in this reluctant indictment of Western civilization, little, if any, discrimination can be made between allied, enemy and neutral peoples. We were all in the grip of a sordid materialism. We practised materialism while we professed Christianity. All of Western civilization was thus a sort of corporate hypocrisy. And so it had no inner peace. For a generation before the war it stirred restlessly in its dreams, and pricked by an accusing conscience, it shivered with a sense of impending disaster.

And then the war came. In the light of bursting star shells we saw the nakedness of our souls. The rather sudden realization of our spiritual bankruptcy scared us into a new idealism. In the light of Versailles and after, we now see that it was a rather hastily improvised idealism that had many of the marks of a death-bed repentance. I do not mean to be cynical. Despite the sordid aftermath of the war, there was much of beauty and sincerity in this transient idealism. The ghost of Machiavelli haunted the corridors of many foreign offices during the war, and sat as an accredited delegate in the peace conference; but for millions of inarticulate men and women throughout America and Europe world politics seemed for the moment to have become the supreme spiritual adventure of mankind. Before the war these millions had felt the chill of materialism, but they had managed to keep reasonably warm under the cloak of an uncritical optimism, a naïve belief in the myth of automatic progress. During the war they kept their spirits alive by an equally uncritical idealism. Hard fighting, victory, and then a new world! They did not stop to ask whether, after all, it is possible to create new worlds by such methods. They were in the grip of the will-to-believe that the most ruthless war of history would result in the spiritual regeneration of Western civilization.

But these mute millions were doomed to disillusionment. They fought hard, victory was achieved, but the new world eluded their grasp. Despite previous commitment to a program dictated by the new idealism, the victors tricked and traded as victors have tricked and traded since human history began. But I have said this so many times in these columns that I need do no more than state it here. The new materialism was temporarily disavowed in the interest of a new idealism only to be succeeded by a new pessimism; for, to use a threadbare phrase, as soon as men realized that we had won the war, but lost the peace, they began speculating upon the possible breakdown of Western civilization. And out of these speculations has come the current literature of despair that I want now to describe and to analyze.

§ 4

Since the war we have been deluged with a literature of forecast. The largest section of this literature of forecast has been written by our prophets of doom, by men who doubt that we shall be able to liquidate the treacherous condition into which an inadequate political, economic, and spiritual leadership has plunged Western civilization. These prophets of doom seem to hold the centre of the stage for the moment. The professional optimism of doctrinaires thinking in a vacuum was never so seriously discounted as it is to-day.

This literature of despair has been written from varying levels of disillusionment, ranging from the philosophical acceptance of the situation by Professor George Santayana to the deep gloom of Dean Inge.

In his "Character and Opinion in the United States," Professor Santayana ventures the prophecy that "Civilization is perhaps approaching one of those long winters that overtake it from time to time. A flood of barbarism from below may soon level all the fair works of our Christian ancestors, as another flood two thousand years ago levelled those of the ancients. Romantic Christendom—picturesque, passionate, unhappy episode—may be coming to an end." But even such a black future is, for Professor Santayana, touched with light, even if it be distant light, reaching us only in fitful and fragile rays. "Such a catastrophe," he bravely asserts, with the calm of philosopher who can afford to wait, "would be no reason for despair. Nothing lasts forever; but the elasticity of life is wonderful, and even if the world lost its memory it would not lose its youth. Under the deluge, and watered by it, seeds of all sorts would survive against the time to come, even if what might eventually spring from them, under the new circumstances, should wear a strange aspect."

Professor Santayana feels the warning frost that heralds a spiritual winter which may freeze the fountains of enterprise and aspiration, but he does not doubt that another springtime lies ahead in the human cycle.

Dean Inge is a more nearly unqualified prophet of doom. As I have so often quoted, he frankly asserts his belief that "We are witnessing the suicide of a social order, and our descendants will marvel at our madness."

In another of his essays, Dean Inge says, as I quoted him in these pages in 1922, "I have, I suppose, made it clear that I do not consider myself specially fortunate in having been born in 1860, and that I look forward with great anxiety to the journey through life which my children will have to make."

The net effect, then, of this literature of despair is to say that we are facing a long spiritual winter, a new dark age. If this literature of despair consisted entirely of such generalizations, even generalizations by such distinguished minds as Professor Santayana and Dean Inge, we might feel justified in taking it with a rather large grain of salt, and attributing it to the special temperament, the faulty digestion, the insomnia, or the post-war weariness of the prophet in question. But this becomes impossible when we realize that the major part of the literature of despair has been written, or at least inspired, not by generalizers, but by specialists, by biologists, psychologists, economists, administrators, statesmen, historians, moralists, and other men who have given their lives to the intensive study of particular fields of human society.

Dean Inge, for instance, is not a lonely prophet of doom crying his pronouncements in a wilderness of *Polyannas*; he is simply the director of a vast chorus of despair, a chorus of specialists. I think I have followed this literature of despair with a fair faithfulness since the war. I do not pretend to have subjected it to an exhaustive or scholarly research, but I have read it with something more than a casual effort to clarify my own mind regarding the current drift of Western civilization. And I think I am at least within hailing distance of accuracy when I say that this literature has been inspired by at least seven distinct fears that have arisen out of seven distinct fields of research and experience. These fears are:

1. The biological fear.
2. The psychological fear.
3. The political fear.
4. The economic fear.
5. The historical fear.
6. The administrative fear.
7. The moral fear.

Let me briefly review these seven fears in turn, and then inquire into the astounding popularity of the literature they have inspired.

§ 5

First, *biological* fear. I mean by this the fear that biologically mankind is plunging downward, that we are reproducing from our less and least fit human stocks rather than from our better and best human stocks, that the best blood of the race, particularly of the white race, is turning to water. In simple terms this means that, in the judgment of many biologists, the best families are having the smallest families, and that the worst families are having the largest families. The fear that haunts the mind of the biologist is the fear that, if this procedure goes on, the race must sooner or later face biologic bankruptcy.

The biologist cannot be divorced from this fear by the gracious gestures of philanthropy. The biologist is delighted, from the sheer human point of view, when he sees the philanthropist feed and clothe the unfit. The study of biology does not, despite certain maudlin commentators, dehumanize the man who pursues its intricate secrets. It is true that he wants the birth-rate of the fit to exceed the birth-rate of the unfit, but that is only because he does not want to see society pursue a policy of coddling the unfit and castigating the fit until a time shall come when there will not be enough fit to take care of the unfit. The biologist does not ask us to let our unfit starve and freeze. He wants the fit to outbreed the unfit, but he does not suggest that we achieve that end by killing the unfit or letting them hang themselves by the noose of their own ignorance or indigence. The biologist is a little alarmed when he sees birth control practised by the fit and passed up by the unfit. He would like to see the procedure reversed. He would like to see the fit fertile and the unfit unfertile. But he sees little hope that society will indulge in such nice discriminations. The biologist wishes that the Roosevelts of each generation would cultivate a more scientific sense of values when they discuss this matter; he would like to see the Roosevelts of each generation work *against* race suicide among the fit and *for* race suicide among the unfit. In so advising the Roosevelts of each generation, the biologist knows that he is prosecuting a mission of mercy; he knows that, in the long view of history, he is being tender to the unfit. In the higher ethics of science, no man has a right to bring into the world a son or daughter who will be too weak biologically to stand the strain that our complex modern civilization imposes upon its citizens.

But as I have said, the biologist has little hope that society will either sense or practise any such nice discriminations. And so the biologist is frankly pessimistic. At least certain outstanding biologits are pessimistic. I have no right to speak for the entire biologic fraternity.

It is that biological fear that gave instant and wide popularity to books like Lothrop Stoddard's "The Rising Tide of Color" and his "The Revolt Against Civilization." It was this preoccupation with racial and hereditary values that inspired Houston Stewart Chamberlain's monumental work on "The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century," and that still earlier led Count Arthur de Gobineau to write his "The Inequality of Human races," not to mention other volumes that would fill an ample shelf.

That this biological fear is haunting the mind of the reading public as well as the mind of the writing fraternity is attested by the wide-ranging popularity of the thousand and one variants of the Chamberlain, Schemann, Gobineau, McDougall, Grant, and Stoddard contentions that have been pouring from our presses.

§ 6

Second, the *psychological* fear. I mean by this the fear that the crowd-man and crowd-processes of thinking are shoving to the wall the freedom-loving and creative-minded individual upon whom we have hitherto looked as the necessary initiator of intellectual and social advance. The psychologist fears that we have built a world in which there is no room for the rebel. He fears that the modern mind has walked all too willingly into a strait-jacket. He fears that we are losing that saving insurgency of the independent mind in a subtle surrender to the crowd-mind which Edward Alsworth Ross has characterized as unstable, credulous, irrational, simple, and immoral. As Mr. Ross said years ago, "thronging paralyzes thought" and, taken by and large, crowds "are morally and intellectually below the average of their members."

"The crowd," says Mr. Ross, "ranks as the lowest form of human association." And yet, from the point of view of the psychologist, we are essentially a crowd-civilization. Is it any wonder that the psychologist faces the future with fear?

This fear of the domination of the individual citizen by the crowd is of course most keenly realized in time of war. In time of war the individual citizen is nothing; the crowd is everything. The crowd ultimately dominates presidents, even when the president in question is wedded by temperament and philosophy to the processes of peace. Legislators, with a few startling and refreshing exceptions, bow to presidents. Professors take leaves of absence from their scholarly judgments as well as from their chairs and uncritically press-agent the purposes of their governments. Editors surrender with slight protest the freedom of the press, as if it were only a fair-weather right, and become rubber stamps of the military arm of the government. Ministers put their gospel into cold storage and hunt with the pack. If it comes to a choice between Jesus and the generals, the majority vote of the clergy goes to the generals. The thought of the nation is cut to a pattern. With striking unanimity, we give up thought as well as sugar for the duration of the war. When war comes, both morals and intelligence are adjourned, and the mob is supreme.

But—and this is a thing we are likely to forget—war only dramatizes in the extreme a thing that is taking place more subtly in peace-time. Nothing is to be gained by beating about the bush: we are citizens of a crowd-civilization that seeks to standardize thought in terms of crowd-judgments. And the honest psychologist, who has not given too many hostages to fortune, fears the crowd-judgments as he fears a plague.

It is this fear that has fallen like a shadow across the writings of Gustav Le Bon, that inspired W. Trotter to write his "Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War," and that led Everett Dean Martin to write his "The Behaviour of Crowds," to name only a few popular books that have reached the general reader.

§ 7

Third, the *political* fear. I mean by this the fear that the thing we call democracy is not delivering the goods we expected it to deliver when we began experimenting with it. Most of us believe that the future belongs to democracy. We see nothing in sight to take its place. Aristocracies, in the sense of hereditary ruling castes, seem sooner or later to go to seed, politically, if not biologically. Dictators seem sooner or later to become poisoned by their own power. But even democracy cannot be turned loose in the pasture to grow up of its own sweet and unhampered will. Like a colt, it needs attention. It must be fed and curried and trained if it is either to draw loads or win ribbons. The political fear I am suggesting has arisen primarily not in the minds of the enemies of democracy, but in the minds of the anxious lovers of democracy.

American democracy is clearly facing a new phase. Since the founding of this republic we have spent most of our political energy in the *extension* of democracy; our next task is the *development* of democracy. We have been pioneers engaged in a task of extensive conquest; now we must be administrators engaged in a task of intensive cultivation. We have reached the end of the quantitative extension of democracy; now we must undertake the qualitative development of democracy. It is upon the threshold of this new epoch in democracy that a great fear chills the hearts of many students of democracy. Will we be able to meet its challenge? Some think not. And these doubting Thomases have been busy drawing up an indictment of democracy. I cannot undertake, in this brief summary, to reproduce all the counts in their indictment, but here are a few things that men in the grip of this political fear are saying.

First, that in the normal run of things democracies do not find and put into power their greatest men, and that when a crisis, like war, arises, democracies invariably abdicate and hand themselves over soul and body to a strong government either of one man or of an oligarchy.

Second, that democracy is an easy victim of catchwords, that democracy will follow a demagogue's slogan more quickly than it will follow established fact or sound argument.

Third, that democracy is equally susceptible to reckless revolution and to reckless reaction; that democracy when aroused may be dominated by insanity, but when not aroused may be paralyzed by inertia; that democracy is not itself a guarantee of liberalism, but susceptible to use for high ends or low.

Fourth, that democracy may easily become as inquisitorial and as tyrannical as a dictator or monarch; that democracy often exercises its inquisitorial habits by unenlightened interference with the legislature and the executive, and often exercises its tyrannical habits by hounding the minority man who is not content to be a mere phonograph record of the mob either in his ideas or in his actions.

Fifth, that democracy finally makes for anarchy rather than for order; that democracy dissolves a community into individuals and then reassembles them in mobs; that democracy invariably is powerless in the face of the organized demands of its militant groups or sections; that democracy has never been able to control its militant groups except by temporarily stepping aside in the interest of some other and stronger form of social control.

Sixth, that the ethical standards of democracy are distinctly lower than the ethical standards of its enlightened citizens; that democracy puts generosity above justice, sympathy above truth, love above chastity, and a pliant disposition above rigid honesty.

These six counts in the current scepticism regarding political democracy are discussed at length by Dean Inge in his first volume of "Outspoken Essay." They do not, of course, exhaust the scepticism of democracy that is abroad in the modern mind. The biologist and the psychologist could add several questions. But these six suggest what I mean by the political fear.

This political fear seems always to go back to the question of the leadership of democracy. Will free men submit to leadership? Will a democracy based on "the rights of man" give adequate attention to the question of "the right man" in positions of leadership?

§ 8

Fourth, the *economic* fear. I mean by this the fear that an industrial civilization—that is to say, a civilization resting upon minute division of labour, machine production, standardization of product, and quantity output—carries about in its own body and in its own processes the seeds of its own destruction, the fear that such a civilization must in time exalt quantity above quality and kill the soul of the people that accepts it; the fear that, to use a phrase from Walter

Rathenau, mechanization has become the spiritual mistress of existence throughout Western civilization.

§ 9

Fifth, the *historical* fear. I mean by this the fear that haunts the minds of men whose study of history has led them to the conclusion that the life of nations and civilizations moves in cycles, just as the lives of men and women move in cycles; that nations run fairly on schedule time through birth, babyhood, adolescence, radiant youth, middle life, old age, and death. Oswald Spengler's "Der Untergang des Abendlandes" and Flinders Petrie's "The Revolutions of Civilization" are good examples of the sort of literature produced by this historical fear. These men and their like-minded associates tell us that peoples create a "culture" which is a live and growing thing, but that sooner or later this expression of their creative powers begins to crystallize and becomes a "civilization" which is a dying thing. To such men, a civilization is the first stage in the death of a culture. And they have drawn neat charts of the cycle of our Western civilization, showing that we are drawing toward the end of a great adventure.

Despite their conviction that civilizations are under the supremacy of the cycle, such men busy themselves with the elaboration of all sorts of policies for these, to them, twilight hours of Western civilization. The plebeian Spengler offers the aristocratic policy of a strong state, while the aristocratic Keyserling offers the democratic policy of a spiritual renewal of the individual Westerner.

§ 10

Sixth, the *administrative* fear. I mean by this the fear that the institutions of Western civilization have become so big and so complicated that we simply are not equal to the job of managing them effectively any longer; the fear that the bigness and the complexity of the modern world have outstripped the existing administrative capacity of the race.

The men who are haunted by this fear believe that many of our empires, many of our states, many of our industrial organizations, many of our universities and educational systems, have passed the point at which bigness is an asset; that their present dropsical condition is a menacing liability, for the simple reason that we are not breeding enough men who are big enough to run them wisely and effectively.

This fear has led some students who are none too critical in their thinking to leap to the conclusion that we must smash our machines and return to cottage industries, dissolve all our big political units with the acid of self-determination, disband our great universities and return to small colleges, specialized schools, and isolated laboratories, and generally reorganize the world on the basis of small units. Echoes of this fear may be seen in the current emphasis upon political decentralization. One cannot read the growing literature against bigness and complexity without gaining a disturbing sense that Western civilization is suffering from a bad attack of elephantiasis. This administrative fear has led many students to insist that Western civilization must either breed more great administrators or reorganize its life in terms of smaller and more manageable units.

§ 11

Seventh, the *moral* fear. I mean by this the fear that the present generation has renounced allegiance to all wholesome standards of thought and conduct and is quite definitely on the loose, morally adrift, without rudder or compass. This moral fear has inspired the deluge of discussion regarding the younger generation, with which for several years our magazines have been filled *ad nauseam*. The views of youth regarding sex and religion and politics and economics have kept many students of Western civilization awake night after night. The whole array of political and economic radicalism, theological modernism, and the new social frankness has produced this fear in many minds.

I have never been able to bring myself to the passing of facile and wholesale judgment upon an entire generation. Judging the younger generation, however, seems to have become a profession all by itself. It has many fluent and eminent practitioners, and they have produced a prodigious literature of despair. That there are legitimate grounds for moral fear regarding the future of our civilization cannot be denied. We must be careful, however, to remember that financiers as well as flappers may pursue shoddy ideals, that statesmen as well as preachers may become heretic to the right, that morals are social as well as personal, public as well as private. It is desirable to keep in mind the fact that this moral fear has to do with both aspects of morals.

§ 12

I have not attempted to suggest the books that these seven fears have obviously inspired. Even the most highly selected bibliography of this literature of despair would fill this issue of the magazine. I have sought only to suggest that most of the pessimistic writing about the future of Western civilization has been inspired by these fears.

I said a few pages back that I would, in addition to reviewing these seven fears, inquire into the astounding popularity of the literature they have inspired. The reasons for its current popularity seem fairly obvious.

First, the literature of despair is dramatic just because it pronounces a judgment of doom. Optimism may be popular in business bulletins and in certain magazines that have set out deliberately to merchandize cheer, but, by and large, pessimism has a higher journalistic value than optimism. The man who predicts the end of an age or the end of the world is always good for a head-line and several columns of copy. Secretly, we all revel a bit in reading the book that produces intellectual goose-flesh.

Second, the literature of despair, particularly the more popularly written parts of it, is a literature of clear-cut generalizations. It is easy to read. The prophets of doom point a menacing finger and call off the counts in the indictment. Lothrop Stoddard tells us that a rising tide of colour is about to swamp the white world, and that the under-man is revolting against the men at the top in Western civilization. It does not take a savant to understand that. The average reader can shiver at such crystal-clear generalizations, as children shiver in the nursery at tales of ghosts and goblins. And so on through the list of the men who have generalized about a dark future for Western civilization.

Third, the literature of despair appealed strongly to the "free-floating fear" that characterized the post-war period. We came out of the war with a bad case of nerves. Even when we had no specific thing to fear, we had an enormous capacity for fear. We were jumpy. Many of the men who were a bit afraid that popular attention would switch too suddenly to some of their war-time practices played upon this national nervousness with superb adroitness. They just about succeeded in convincing the country for a time that ruin and revolution lurked behind every stone and tree and hedge-row in the nation. The man who displayed even a mild interest in spelling reform or Esperanto was suspected of holding in reserve some disguised Bolshevism. Some day that period in our national history will become the happy hunting-ground of the great American humourist who may arise. Obviously, when a whole nation is vaguely afraid, it will crowd the book-stores for books that promise to show it the specific things it must fear.

I believe, of course, that side by side with this literature of despair is an even more significant literature of hope. And I do not mean a literature of mere trumped-up optimism. I mean a literature that uncovers our sources of health, as this literature of despair has uncovered the causes of our disease. It is this literature of hope that I shall discuss next month.[1]

GLENN FRANK

THE INVISIBLE PATH

Oh Thou that crownest stars
With seldom-ceasing light,
Say what it is that mars
My upward yearning sight.

I trace the path of morn
By conning planets' lore,
I guess when Time was born
By telling sun-tales o'er.

But paths that spirits tread
In disencumbered flight,
Are traced by doubt and dread
And soon effaced by night.

NALINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

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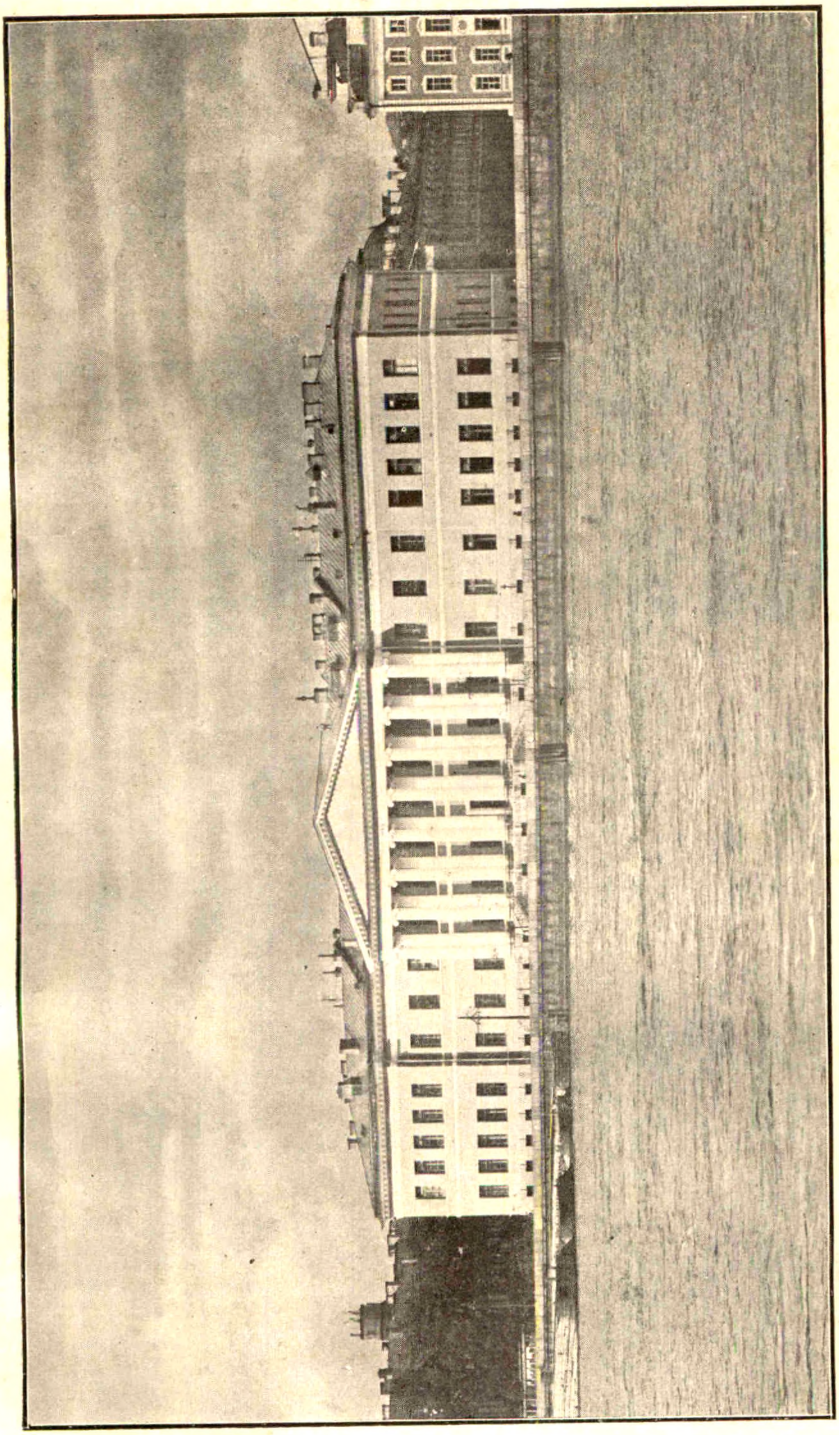
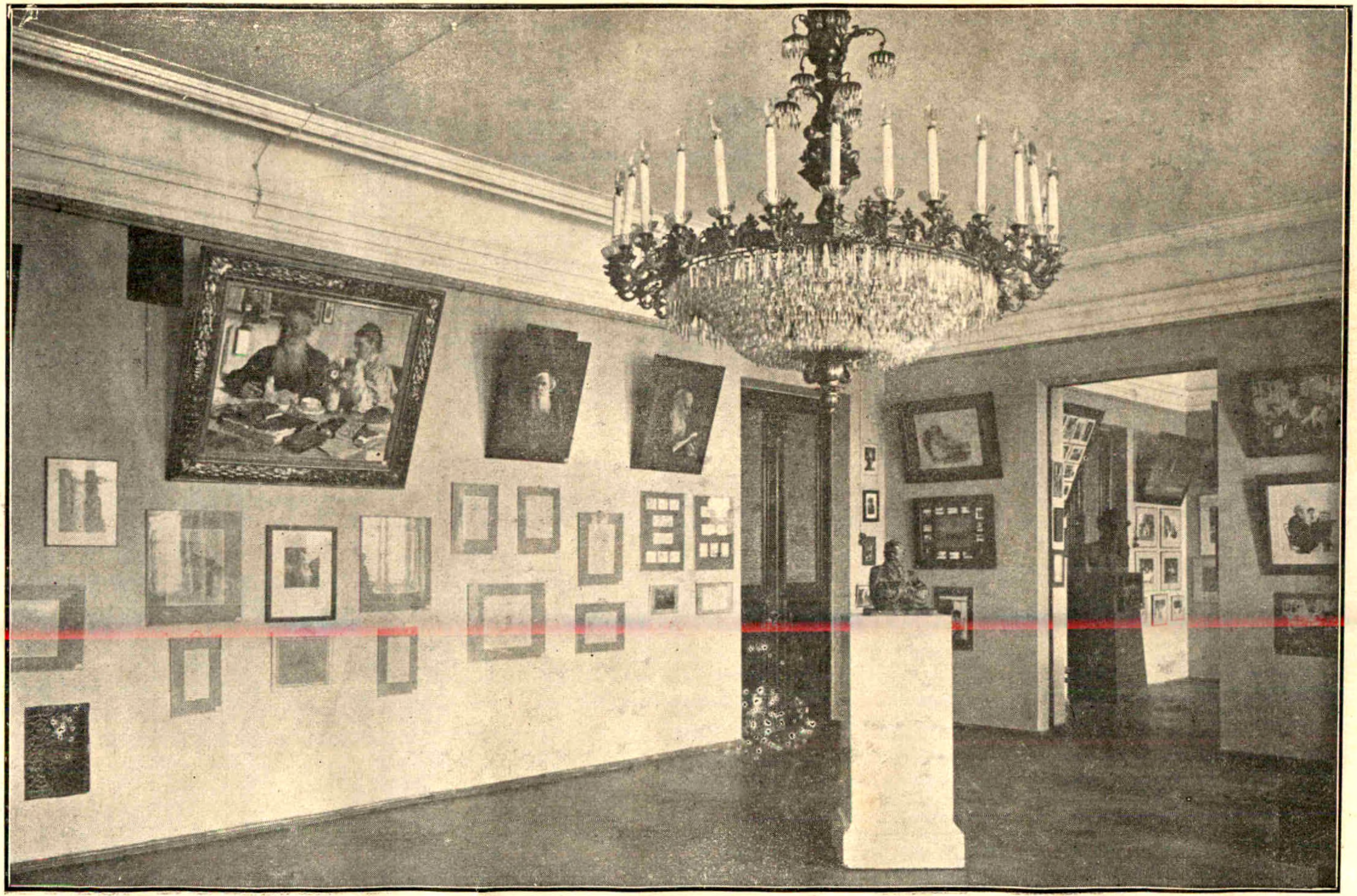
[1] Reprinted from the *Century Magazine*, by permission of the Century Co., New York.

LENINGRAD, II



Administrative Building, Academy of Science



SONG OF THE SYRIAN CHIEF

Lo, thou art the wind that blows
  Through a perfumed night in Spring,
And I hold thee as a Rose
  From the Garden of the King.

Once mine eyes a comet's fall
  Marked awhile in gleaming flight,
Far across the spangled pall
  That o'ershades the face of Night.

Once the Star-light dancing fell
  On white spears—another sun—
Where my cohorts wheeled to tell
  Glory of a battle won.

All of Beauty mirrored long
  Flamed beholding thee, one hour—
Beauty of a Syrian Song,
  Fragrance of the crimson flower.

Lo, thou art the wind that blows
  Through a perfumed night in Spring,
And I hold thee as a Rose
  From the Garden of the King.

MIRIEM KHUNDKAR

Reviews

In "**Civilisation's Deadlocks and the Keys**"—Five Lectures delivered in London, 1924—brought out by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, 1924, Dr. Besant has with her usual clearness of vision and thorough grasp of the inwardness of every intricate question dealt with the baffling problems of education, scientific and artistic aims, religion and human society over which all thinking minds are to-day concentrating their best attention. In this wide survey she is inspired by a seer's vision of a new age of which some signs, she imagines, are already visible, in which the youth of to-day properly trained as citizens of the right type will be more self-sacrificing than grasping, co-operative than competitive and all mankind will recognise their kinship of brotherhood with the help of a science which gives the knowledge by which men should grow more and more human and an art that shall beautify the life of every citizen of every land. Human society will then be rebuilt replacing the society of to-day which is hardly human—"a society of struggle, of combat, of man against man, of class against class" is, she rightly avers, "a social anarchy rather than a social union." She freely and boldly admits that she approaches these baffling and complex problems from the standpoint of a socialist, nay, a member of the Labour Party, and an exponent of the highest tenets of theosophy which is not afraid to recognise that "mysticism and occultism are the key to religion." It is not possible to do justice to a book so thought-provoking as this in a brief review. Its greatest recommendation is that it is as eminently practical in its detailed survey of actual realities as it is idealistic in its uplifting vision of a regenerated humanity.

J. G. B.

"**The Purpose of Education,**" by St. George Lane Fox Pitt (Cambridge University Press, 1924), is indeed "an examination of educational problems in the light of recent scientific research" in which the author's "main contention is that both as to aim and method, modern education is often faulty in that the excessive desire shown to obtain tangible results of a practical nature has had the effect of obscuring its ideals and perverting its methods." Between its two Prefaces (that to its first edition in 1913 and its present one to this revised and enlarged edition, 1924) is inserted an admirably interesting and appreciative letter, written in 1916 when the second edition was about to come out, by Professor Emile Boutroux of the French Academy with its English translation by Prof. H. Wildon-Carr, D. Litt, which goes far to elucidate the author's ideal. Prof. Boutroux very appropriately and tersely puts the whole matter of one's estimate of this book in Aristotle's famous epigrammatic saying—" Small in volume, great in importance and value." The author's principal object is to apply to the difficult problems of education the fresh knowledge regarding the working of the human mind acquired recently with the help of experimental psychology and psycho-analysis with a view to clear up and remove to some extent the prevailing confusion of ideas and practical difficulties in the solution of educational problems. The crux of the matter lies in the difficulty of reconciling what are usually considered as rival if not antagonistic claims—of the positive sciences and of religion and morals, of logic and external experience, and of instinct and intuition. The writer's mental balance is evidenced abundantly by the sanity with which he proposes to utilise to his purpose both scientific knowledge and intuitive vision. Perhaps there is in him just a little too much of the tendency of contemporary psychology to rely exclusively on the psycho-physical method, though of a modified type, one slightly different from that of the orthodox psycho-analyst. Yet it is refreshing to read one so free from the doctrinaire spirit of the "schools" wedded to pet theories. The authors' admirable mentality and broad outlook are well illustrated by his examination and reinterpretation of such disconcerting terms so prevalent to-day as "Complex" and "the Great Complex," human personality (or to be more precise, the enumeration of its contents), environment, value and its measure, truth subjective and objective, reality, mind, freedom and conversion (*vide* specially Ch. VI).

We may just refer to his reinterpretation of the proverbial "*mens sana in corpore sano*" as that which produces an experience of harmonious manifestation of the *three* kinds into which environment considered as an aspect of mind is divided, *viz.*, as something due to (1) the unconscious mind, (2) the diffused subconscious *collective* mentality (corresponding to *zeitgeist*), and (3) the vivid waking of the individual observer's consciousness. He asserts that error is largely due to the conventional habit of excluding the third element from the trinity of the knower, the thing known and knowledge. Very rightly has it been emphatically pointed out that true higher intellectual growth is impeded, hindered, and even occasionally made impossible by the adventitious over-valuation of the prevalent system of thought which encourages mere concept evolution—laying stress on multiplicity, variety, and complexity of ideas—which however temporarily useful and even necessary for humanity as he is now imperfectly constituted surely results in *mental cramming* and a fatal forgetfulness of the proper limitations and the *relative* nature of such a system of thought. As an illustration there follows a detailed consideration of the scientific concept of energy (together with the theory of its conservation and transformation). He has also offered practical hints to teachers as to how they can fruitfully use the "complexes," say, by means of "suggestion," to make the pupil's mind (which is after all a *manufactured* associated system of complexes) really fit for instruction but has not failed to remind them how comparatively limited is the scope of helping a child's development by instruction. The latter fact cannot be too strongly and emphatically recommended to professional teachers of the orthodox old school self-complacently busy in needlessly interfering with the free activities of the little folk entrusted to them to be moulded, as many fond parents and guardians still continue to believe, into any shape like potter's clay. Still in Ch. II (which is a valuable contribution to the study of the subject) warning is sounded against the present-day craze for unrestrained freedom to be given to boys and girls while in *statu pupilaris.* The 4th Chapter reads like an arresting novel and the economic fabric of human life is here very intelligently co-ordinated with man's other complexes so that his egoistic tendency may not accentuate in him psychic isolation that deludes one into a sense of freedom and independence, for, at bottom, it is egoism which creates economic values as certainly as it creates vice and greed and indolence. Specialisation, record-breaking, the current cry for vocational training as the panacea of all evils or for efficiency, the mistaken aversion for "repression," "conversion" through conquest of desires, need for a moral and religious atmosphere in popular education, importance of character-training and similar topics have been adequately dealt with. There is a very needful and proper insistence on the spiritual (the unseen, intangible, abstract) side of human nature and psycho-physics is here made to lend its support to the Hindu ideal of निष्कामकर्म्म by the author's denunciation of "the grasping attitude of mind". and his injunction regarding "the conquest of this grasping disposition of heart and mind" which is the right meaning and implication of the process of being "born again in the spirit."

"The doctrine inculcated," says the writer in the concluding chapter, "is that, through the relinquishment and ultimate dissolution of personal egoism, in other words through self-conquest, there is developed in the mind the powers of clear insight and true understanding" strongly reminding us of the discipline elaborated by the sage Patanjali.

J. G. B.

Sind and its Sufis—by Jethmal Parsram Guljar (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar). This is another addition to the "Asian Library" which is being published by the Theosophical Society. It deals with a subject of absorbing interest to a student of religious culture. Little indeed is known to the outside world about Sind; even in India there is at times a most distressing ignorance shown with regard to Sindhi affairs. And this book tries to interpret the very heart of Sind to others. Islam, which had its birth in the desert wastes of Arabia, when accepted by the Aryan races of Irān and India became imbued with the ancient Aryan mysticism which flowered in both the lands as Sufi poetry. Sufism has reinterpreted Semitic Islam to the Aryan world and in Sufism has been found the strongest appeal Islam has made to the heart of the East, and especially of India. In essence Sufi poetry is very closely related to the mystic poetry of Hinduism. When the Sufi sings of the Beloved and of His Beauty and of the Wine and the Cup-bearer one almost hears echoes of the songs of Brindāban. For after all is not the Beloved the same for all? Kabir, I think, said that "Rama and Rahīm were one." Then why should there be any bad blood between the followers of these two faiths? If the Hindus read more about the Islamic Sufis and their Beloved, and if the Moslems read more about Krishna and his devoted Gopīs they would be drawn nearer to each other. I, for one, believe that the day of Hindu-Moslem unity is near—nearer than most of us imagine. Books like this are but signs of the coming times. My own feeling upon finishing the book was to learn Sindhi so as to be able to read these Sufi verses in the original. The selections given are excellent and cling to one's memory like the subtle fragrance of incense.

I. J. S. T.

POST GRADUATE COUNCIL IN ARTS
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THE CONVOCATION

The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor's Address

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

When I addressed Convocation just a year ago we had to deplore the loss of many distinguished Senators from amongst our numbers but I am glad to say that during the past year the hand of death has not pressed so heavily upon our body.

We record however with sorrow the death of an Ex-Chancellor of our University, The Marquis of Curzon, our Chancellor from 1899 to 1904. He illuminated and adorned every work to which he set his hand, literary, political and educational and as Viceroy and Governor-General of India, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Chancellor of our sister University of Oxford he has left behind him a name which will always be memorable both in India and in Great Britain. His love for Calcutta is enshrined in the pages of the book which was published shortly after his death and to which he had devoted the scanty hours of leisure left to him in a life devoted to the service of India and of his Motherland.

Lord Carmichael too, our Rector from 1912-1917, has recently passed away. His genial and kindly personality is still fresh in our memories and his interest in India remained unabated until the end.

Death has also removed a very distinguished scholar in Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, who was an Honorary Fellow of this University for many years and whose scholarly reputation for Sanskritic learning extended far beyond the confines of India.

In August last death also removed from amongst us a very familiar figure within these walls for many years, Mahendranath Ray, Dean of the Faculty of Law and an elected Fellow of this University from the year 1891.

He served this University in many capacities, as an Examiner, as a member of various Boards of Studies and Faculties, as President of the Board of Accounts and as a Member of the Syndicate. A distinguished Mathematician, an able and accomplished lawyer and above all a courteous and kindly gentleman. We shall long miss him from our midst.

Death has also claimed during the past year Mr. Sarodaranjan Roy who for many years served the cause of education as Principal of Vidyasagar College and we have also to record the deaths during the past year of two distinguished graduates of the University, Chittaranjan Das and Surendra Nath Bannerjee. The political life of India and of this Province had claimed them as her own and their names will ever be remembered in that connection but we are proud to number them amongst the alumni of Calcutta University and we gratefully record the services which Surendra Nath Bannerjee rendered to education as a teacher at the old Metropolitan College (now the Vidyasagar College), at the City College, and at the Presidency Institution which we know as Ripon College and as member of the Senate from 1905 to 1909, and we are likewise grateful for the service Chittaranjan Das rendered to education whilst Mayor of this City in laying the groundwork of primary education under the ægis of the Corporation.

The Post-Graduate Department.

I now turn to the Post-Graduate Department which has occupied a good deal of the energies of the University during the past year.

At the time of the last Convocation the Post-Graduate Committee, which had been appointed by the Senate on the

27th September, 1924, to ascertain if retrenchment in the Department was possible and to consider whether the pay and conditions of employment and service of the teaching staff was satisfactory, and to make recommendations to these ends, was still sitting. Its report is now a matter of history and the details of its recommendations are well known to you. Its labours as you know were heavy and its sittings which began in November, 1924 did not end until the 9th May, 1925. In all it held some 73 meetings and the Senate occupied some five sittings in considering its recommendations and I should like to take this opportunity of expressing the thanks of the University to those who took part in its deliberations and who devoted their times so assiduously and ungrudgingly to this work. It is invidious perhaps to mention any names in this connection but I do desire to take this opportunity of expressing my own thanks to the Honorary Secretary of that Committee, Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, for his untiring labour in this connection and to Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee for his work at the concluding stages of our deliberations which made possible the completion of the report in the month of May.

The investigation, I can say without hesitation, was a thorough one. We explored every department of Post-Graduate work and if the enquiry did not disclose the possibilities of the retrenchment for which some of us hoped the Committee have the satisfaction of knowing that their labours have resulted in putting the finances of the Department on a stable footing and of removing the sense of uncertainty amongst the workers in the Department which had hung over their heads as a heavy cloud for months, and I may say for years. The corollary of the conclusion of the work of the Committee and of the adoption of the report by the Senate with some slight modifications was the settlement with Government of the recurring grant to be made for the work of the Department. With a view to arrive at this you, Sir, were good enough to invite representatives of the University to a Conference at Darjeeling in the early days of September last. The first meeting took place under your Chairmanship and the second was presided over by Sir Abdur Rahim, who was then the Member of your Executive Council in charge of Education. These meetings were followed by a further Conference in the early days of January of this year. Meantime the accounts of the University had been subjected to a thorough and searching scrutiny at the hands of the Finance Department and the Education authorities of the Government. And although the amount of the grant still awaits the final sanction of the Legislative Council we are not without hope that these meetings have paved the way for a settlement of this much vexed question which the University can accept as equitable and which should stand for the next five years. I hope, Sir, that you will allow me to offer to you as Chancellor of the University our grateful appreciation of what you have done to make this settlement possible.

We realise the difficulty of the position for you; as Chancellor you had to consider the claims and needs of the University whilst as head of the Province you had to bear in mind the manifold claims that come from all quarters for financial assistance from the funds at the disposal of Government. I doubt if the satisfactory settlement, which we have reason to hope may be reached, would have been possible without your intervention and I feel sure that it will be a source of satisfaction to you to feel that your exertions to this end have not been in vain.

The position of a University seeking assistance from Government is always a difficult one. It has to assert and maintain its cherished independence free from Government control on the one hand and on the other to satisfy Government that its claim for assistance is well founded. It has to insist that there should be no Government control or direction of its academic activities and to maintain that of those activities it must be the sole and only judge, it has at the same time to justify its claim for a grant by showing that there is no undue waste in its administration. I trust that as a result of the settlement at which we hope to arrive the University may be free to carry on its activities and to improve and shape and extend those activities without recourse to Government and that for the next five years the financial assistance now to be accorded to the University by Government may enable the University to continue and improve its work and that there may be no further recourse to Government except perhaps for any necessary capital expenditure on new buildings.

I feel sure that it is in the best interests of the University that the settlement now to be arrived at should be a final one for at least a period of years. After the Darjeeling Conference, to which I have referred, the University felt itself free to make the too long delayed appointments in the Post-Graduate Department in the place of the existing appointments which had expired on the 31st May last and which had been renewed temporarily pending the financial settlement with Government.

The Appointments Board, which had been formed as a result of the recommendations of the Post-Graduate Committee, met in November and spent two very strenuous weeks in scrutinising the work and qualifications of the candidates for appointments, helped by the recommendations of the respective Boards of Studies and of the Executive Committees of the two Post-Graduate Councils of Arts and Science. The Board had a difficult and delicate task: they were limited on the one hand by the resources at their disposal which were conditioned by the calculations upon which the application for Government assistance was based and on the other hand there were the claims to be considered of those who had been ill-paid for some time and who had stood by the University in difficult and critical times.

I have no doubt that the decisions of the Appointments Board which have now been confirmed by the Senate have not commanded universal approval; we are none of us the best judges of our own worth, but I can claim that these appointments have been made and the salaries fixed after due and careful scrutiny of conflicting claims and with an honest desire to be fair to all concerned.

We can now claim that the Post-Graduate Department is established on a firm an unshakeable basis and long may it flourish.

I hope it will now devote itself to an earnest scrutiny of such weakness as time has disclosed and to such improvement as may be possible in its teaching and curriculum.

It was founded on high hopes and aspirations for the development of knowledge and culture and research and it has to justify these aspirations in the years to come. No doubt much good work has been produced but we must be satisfied with nothing but the highest standards of excellence if we are to prove ourselves not unworthy of the hopes of those to whom it owes its existence.

I do very earnestly hope that the work of the department will be tested by the application of the very highest standards and that none shall rest satisfied until these are attained. All of us who have worked for this department are anxious that it should attain a worldwide reputation for teaching and research and I hope that now that the financial position is assured that this may be attained.

Research Work of Post-Graduate Department.

I should like to refer for a moment to some of the Research work carried out in the Post-Graduate Departments since the last Convocation. I turn first to the Department of Science.

Professor Raman, Palit Professor of Physics, reports that the work carried out by himself and his collaborators has resulted in developments in three directions, firstly, in the discovery of a new optical phenomenon exhibited by all liquid surfaces generally, the study of which is of significance from the standpoint of molecular physics and physical chemistry. Three papers on the work done by him in this subject in collaboration with Mr. L. A. Ramdas have been published by the Royal Society and a new pathway of investigation into the nature of liquid surfaces and their molecular behaviour has been opened up. Secondly, as a result of investigations carried on by Professor Raman in collaboration with Professor Sogani of the Benares Hindu University a new optical effect shown by emulsions has been discovered and a first instalment of the work is appearing in the Philosophical Magazine. Thirdly, the Professor reports an extension of his studies of the scattering of light in fluids which have resulted in showing that the method enables the finding of the structure of molecules by optical observation and one of his pupils, Dr. Ramanathan, has investigated by this new method one of the most fundamental problems of organic chemistry, *viz.*, the structure of the benzene ring and this work is being published by the Royal Society.

Professor Raman further reports the following work done on special optical problems :

(*a*) A paper contributed by him to the October number of the Philosophical Magazine showing that the ideas of a familiar optical phenomenon, total reflection, must be revised and that in reality there is never any total reflection.

(*b*) The publication in the Journal of the Optical Society of America, in collaboration with Mr. Kedareswar Banerji, of the results of optical studies of the deformations occurring in the impact of solids.

(*c*) The publication in the transactions of the Optical Society of London of investigations carried out by him with Mr. S. K. Dutta of St. Xavier's College on the Theory of

Brewster's Bands. Professor Raman has also lectured at Patna University on the differentiation of X-Rays, in Moscow in German, on the Structure of the Benzene Molecule before the Mendeleff Congress of Chemistry and before the Physical Institutes in Leningrad and Moscow during his visit to attend the bi-centenary of the Academy of Science of Russia.

Professor Raman is also engaged in writing a book on his investigations on Light Scattering and is contributing four chapters on the Theory of Musical Instruments to the new Handbook des Physik.

Professor Raman has recently placed before the University a scheme for the development of research in Physics which involves the building and equipment of a special laboratory adjoining the College of Science

I have no doubt of the need of such a laboratory if a great school of Physics is to be developed by the University but unfortunately the University has no funds available for this purpose and under the terms of the Palit Trust capital expenditure of this nature cannot be undertaken out of this Trust Fund. I commend this scheme to any would-be benefactor of the University as I feel sure it would add lustre to the name of the University throughout the world and benefit the scientific advance of India.

Sir Prafullachandra Ray, Palit Professor of Chemistry, to whom we are indebted both for the original work which he has carried out and for his splendid results as a teacher of others, reports researches carried on with his students during the year in

(1) Varying Valencies of Platinum with reference to Mercaptanic Radicals.

(2) Chain Compounds of Sulphur.

(3) Synthesis of Cyclic Polysulphides.

(4) Synthesis of Condensed Heterocyclic systems.

(5) Constitution of Complex Platinum Compounds derived from Ethyl Sulphide.

(6) Studies of Isomorphous Alum.

And various other researches have been carried on under his direction in dyes and other things.

Professor H. K. Sen has been engaged in investigations into the following and other subjects:

(*a*) Temperature of a Hydrocarbon Flame.
(*b*) Synthesis in the Quinoline and Isoquinoline series.
(*c*) The Heat Balance in an Oil Fired Glass Furnace.
(*d*) A Theory of Alcoholic Fermentations.
(*e*) The Electrical Nature of Fermentation.
(*f*) Ultramarine Blue from Indian Raw Materials.

Professor J. N. Mookerjee (Khaira Professor of Chemistry) has carried on investigations into "Coagulation" which have been published in the Annual Reports of the London Chemical Society on the progress of Chemistry, and he has a long list of other research work to his credit.

Prof. P. C. Mitter has devoted his research mainly to the Synthesis of Rubiadin, a natural dyestuff occurring in Madder Root.

Mr. Pabitranath Dasgupta has published papers in the Journal of the India Chemical Society on—

(1) New Mercury Ammonia Compounds.
(2) Cobalti-Ammine Chromates
(3) Metallic Compounds of Rubeanic acid.
(4) Complex Iodides of Tin and Antimony.

Professor Agarkar (Ghose Professor of Botany) has been engaged amongst other work on the Flora of Central Nepal and students under him have been engaged in studies of the Lichens of Bengal and the Bengal Flora.

Mr. Sinha (Professor of Botany, Presidency College) has to his credit an original paper on the Antiquity and Therapeutic uses of the Indian Spikenard and he has published other original work.

Mr. Dasgupta, one of the lecturers in Geology has written amongst other papers one on the Prevision of Earthquakes.

And other lecturers have research work to their credit which time and space do not permit me to refer to in detail.

Arts Research.

The Post-Graduate Department in Arts can point to a very considerable number of original papers and books published during the session 1925-26 which include contributions from all the Arts Departments. I can only refer to a few of them this afternoon but I hope that those whose work I do not specifically mention will realise that my omission is due to no disparagement of their work but that I am constrained by conditions of time and space from mentioning every one. Our two Philosophy Professors—Dr. Hiralal Haldar and Professor Radhakrishnan—have respectively produced works on British Neo-Hegelianism and on Indian Philosophy. In Anthropology Rao Bahadur Ananthakrishna Iyer has produced his third volume on Cochin Tribes and Castes. In Economics Mr. Prafullachandra Ghosh has written on "A Study of Indian Poverty" and Mr. Ramchandra Rao on "Indian Economic Progress" and "The Economics of the Leather Trade and Industry."

Of our workers in Comparative Philology Dr. Taraporewala has written on "The History of Writing" and "The Religion of Zarathustra" and Mr. Bijaychandra Mazumdar on "Orissa in the Making."

In the Indian Vernacular Department Dr. Dineshchandra Sen has produced his second volume of Eastern Bengal Ballads. The History Department shows a long list including works by Dr. G. N. Banerjee on "Khmer Civilisation," by Mr. Surendranath Sen on the Portuguese connection with India embodying some of his researches into the records at Goa, by Dr. Stella Kramrisch on Indian Sculpture and Gupta Sculpture, by Mr. R. Kimura on Buddhism and we have from Dr. Abinashchandra Das Vol. II of his work on Rig-Vedic Culture, In Pali we have work from Dr. Benimadhab Barua on "Asoka's Dharma" and from Dr. Nalinaksha Datta on "The History of the spread of Buddhism." From the department of English we have a work on "The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language" from Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterjee and "Studies in Spencer" from Mr. Mohinimohan Bhattacharya. In the Sanskrit Department Dr. Probhatchandra Chakravarti has produced a translation of the Mahabhashya of Patanjali and Pandits Ananthakrishna Sastri, Sitaram Sastri and Amareswar Thakur have respectively produced the following works: "A Commentary on Vedantaparibhasa," "An Original Treatise in Sanskrit Pratisakya Samiska" and "The Law of Treasure-trove in Ancient India."

The Matriculation Regulations and the Secondary Board.

The Post-Graduate Department has detained me so long that I can only deal very briefly with what remains.

I should like however to refer shortly to two matters vitally affecting the 900 Secondary Schools working under the University. I mean the Matriculation Regulations and the proposed Secondery Board. Both these questions have occupied the time and attention of the University since the last Convocation. We submitted some months ago to Government our reply to the criticisms directed against our proposed new Matriculation Regulations and we are awaiting their reply. These Regulations, as you know, include a provision for the introduction of vernacular teaching in the schools, a reform recommended by the University Commission and already too long delayed. I am not unmindful that as regards the Province of Assam difficulties present themselves and the University will carefully consider any proposal designed to safeguard the schools in those districts of Assam where the introduction of teaching in the vernacular would present difficulties owing to local language conditions and the regulations as prepared by the University contain provisions designed to operate to this end.

I am told that special measures may be necessary in some districts in the interest of the Urdu-speaking Mahomedan student but I venture to think that here again the provisions of the regulations which we have drafted will secure this, but I can say that the University are prepared to sympathetically consider all such cases where special consideration is necessary. We desire to see education spreading amongst our Mahomedan fellow subjects in the Province and I am sure I voice the view of the University when I say that they are prepared to assist towards this end with all the means at their disposal. I have anxiously asked for figures of the number of Urdu-speaking students and of their geographical location, but so far I regret to say that I have asked in vain, but I can promise on behalf of the University that directly these figures are forthcoming they will be sympathetically considered by the University and efforts made to show special consideration to each case. The establishment of a Secondary Board, again another recommendation of the Commission, was considered at a Conference between Government and the University which was held in April last and although the University were unable to agree to the proposals then put forward they have since submitted their proposals for the consideration of Government and are awaiting a reply.

Both in the interest of the University, heavily overburdened as it is with detailed work which diminishes the time available for dealing with directly University problems, and in the interest of the schools themselves, who require more attention than the University is in a position to give, it is urgently necessary that some agreement should be arrived at between Government and the University upon this question. It is not I think impossible that agreement should be reached but I desire to emphasise what I have said elsewhere that the University are bound to insist upon three conditions:

(1) That the Board must be an independent body.

(2) That the Matriculation Examination must remain under the University.

(3) That the establishment of the Board must not impair the finances of the University.

Other problems affecting the Schools which have occupied the attention of the University during the past year are the preparation of a Code to regulate the position of teachers in non-Government Schools and the question of the pay and prospects of teachers in those Schools.

I am glad to say that considerable progress has been made in the preparation of a Code and a Committee is sitting to this end and we are fortunate to have on that Committee two such experts as the Director of Public Instruction and Mr. Stapleton, the Principal of Presidency College, so I hope that a satisfactory Code may be produced and that the teachers may be free from any undue interference in their work by School Committees and may obtain greater security of tenure in their appointments.

As to the improvement in pay, the University in May last issued a Circular (No. 228) to all the non-Government Schools in the Province which I hope will mark the beginning of an improvement in the pay of teachers in the schools which is still however far too low. I am glad to say that many schools have already fallen in with the suggestions of the circular and raised the pay of their staff. In the same circular we have insisted on the introduction of a Provident Fund and in many schools this has already been started.

Improvement of pay and prospects must be gradual yet progressive and it is not possible for the University "by a stroke of the pen" to raise the salaries to the standard to which we must aim at attaining. This must be done gradually and a too rapid rise would only result in the destruction of many of the existing schools in districts where they are badly wanted which would not be in the interests either of the teachers themselves or of the scholars of those schools.

The University Press.

The University Press has again done good work during the past year and some 40 books have been published dealing with various subjects, Ethnology, Banking, Bengal Life, Evolution of Law, Economics, Vedantic Thought and so on. In addition the Press has produced various selections for use at the Matriculation and Intermediate Examinations, the sales of which go to swell the scanty resources of the University. I commend to your consideration the Descriptive Catalogue of Publications issued by the Calcutta University Press which speaks far better than I can do of the work which the Press is and has been doing; this catalogue is being widely distributed and the Press has established exchange relations with most of the Universities in Europe and America. I should like before I leave the subject to express my appreciation of the work done on behalf of the Press by the Press and Publications Committee and by the Assistant Registrar.

Benefactions.

We express our thanks for the benefactions received during the year: Maharaja Sir Bir Mirtroday Singh Deo Dharmanidhi Jnan Gunakar, Ruling Chief, Sripur, has given a further sum of Rs. 33,000 for the creation of a Chair in Uriya: the widow of the late Director of Public Instruction, Dr. Dunn, made over to the University her late husband's collection of books, and we have to thank Mr. Bijaybasanta Basak for a 5 H.P. Motor and Hydro-extractor for use in the workshop of the Applied Chemistry Department and we note that the gift was prompted by appreciation of the valuable services rendered by Prof. H. K. Sen to the donor's firm.

I would that the list were larger and I should like once more to commend to the generosity of the Province the multifarious needs of the University both for the endowment of Chairs and for the development of research. I would that the princely gifts which we read of from time to time given to Universities in America and in Great Britain may find an echo here and that another Sir Rashbehary Ghose and Sir Taraknath Palit may be forthcoming from amongst us. It is from such sources rather than from Government aid that I would have the University look for assistance in the future.

Doctorates.

The following Doctorates of Philosophy have been conferred during the period under review: On Binodbehari Datta whose subject was "Town Planning in Ancient India," on Nalinaksha Datta whose subject was "Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools," on Ramakrishna Rai whose subject was "Emerson, his Genius and Prestige," on Satyacharan Law whose subject was "Pet Birds of Bengal," and on Bhanubhusan Das Gupta whose subject was "Paper Currency in India, a historical and critical study." And Sasibhusan Mali was awarded a Doctorate of Science for a Thesis on "A critical review of Trouton's Law and its applicability at the Tripa point."

Scholarships.

The Palit Foreign Scholarship was awarded to Dr. Jogendranath Bardhan, and Ghosh Travelling Fellowships were awarded to Dr. Surendranath Sen, Mr. Sunilchandra Bose and Dr. Sudhamoy Ghosh.

Asutosh Building.

A notable event in the history of the University was the opening on the 29th June of the Asutosh Building erected on the old Fish Market site.

It was named after the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee to whose energy and inspiration it largely owes its erection.

This has to some extent relieved the grave congestion of the Post-Graduate Department but additional accommodation alone be tested and I hope that some rich and generous donor may enable this to be done at an early date.

I do not desire however to end this address upon a despondent note.

No one who has seen the work of the University at close quarters as I have done during the last eighteen months can but feel proud of the great edifice which the labours of our predecessors have created; imperfections no doubt there are; improvements in many directions have to be carried out but the establishment of the Post-Graduate Department has paved the way for a real advance of learning. Under the ægis of this department we are assisting in the rediscovery and interpretation of the ancient learning of India, we are advancing with no uncertain steps in the investigations of the new problems which modern scientific research and discovery are almost daily propounding and solving and we are endeavouring to approach the problems of government, of civic development, of economic advance and of industry fortified with the knowledge gained by a scientific study of those subjects. I wish the University in the years which are to come unbroken and unclouded prosperity and when the time comes, a few months hence, for me to lay down the office which I now hold I shall always look back with pleasure on the small part I have been privileged to play in the work of the University and I shall watch with interest and with sympathy the part which Calcutta University is playing in the advancement of learning.

To those students whom I have to-day admitted to degrees I wish successful and prosperous careers in the occupations to which they may be called.

I hope in the years which are to come they will bear themselves manfully in the struggles which lie before them, forgetful of self, mindful of others and living ever as true and faithful servants of their fellows and of the motherland which bids them to her service.

His Excellency the Chancellor's Speech

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I address you this year with the knowledge that four years have passed since I first became your Chancellor and that but one year remains in which I may continue to share with you some responsibility for the welfare of this great University.

As I look back on the years that have passed, I am struck by the extent to which my ability to be of service to you has been diminished by the fact that I am also the Governor of the Province. In England, there is a legal convention that the King can do no wrong. In Bengal, I find there is a political convention that the Governor can do no right. It is undoubtedly unfortunate for the University to have for its Chancellor one who is so seriously handicapped. This dual rôle, which has been entrusted to me by statute, is a very difficult one to fulfil. The good intentions and benevolent efforts of Chancellor Jekyll are for ever being frustrated by the evil reputation of Governor Hyde! I realize now, as I look back, that at these annual convocations in the past I have made the mistake of trying to persuade you that Hyde was really as good a man as Jekyll. In the belief that you would naturally trust your Chancellor I have asked you to show equal confidence in the Government of which he was also the head. I have found, however, that your instinctive mistrust of the Governor has determined your attitude towards your Chancellor when you found him to be the same man. This year I propose to correct that mistake. I shall not say one word to you as Governor of the Province. I disown that wicked person altogether. I speak only as your Chancellor, and I shall review the past year as the Vice-Chancellor has done from the standpoint of the University alone.

In the first place, let me congratulate the University upon the unconditional surrender of the Government in the matter of a grant for the Post-Graduate Department. You know, of course, how urgently we have represented to the Government the needs of this Department and how long we have waited for a satisfactory answer. A year ago we were promised help and asked to retrench our expenditure. Then we appointed a Committee to go into the whole question. That Committee conducted a most laborious examination of the position and, after much heated discussion, during which both sides showed commendable dignity and forbearance, came to a conclusion which was accepted by all and formulated a demand for three lakhs of rupees. Still the Government hesitated and questioned. Conferences and correspondence continued up to the end of the year. Then came complete silence, which was broken only yesterday when the Hon'ble Finance Member announced in the Legislative Council the complete surrender of the Government and the provision in this year's budget for the full University demand! How was it that this signal victory was at last accomplished? Ladies and gentlemen, I will tell you how it was done. I will give you a peep behind the scenes. I will reveal to you an important State secret. As the Chancellor of the University I secured the assistance of the Hon'ble Member in charge of Education and together we went in deputation to the Governor and the Finance Member—the two most important and stubborn members of the Government. I think these two must have a double dose of the original sin shared by their colleagues. When we got there we pointed out to them that the people of Bengal expected the Government to contribute towards a permanent memorial to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee; we argued that the best memorial they could erect was the stabilization of the department which represented his life's work; we further explained that the differences between them and the University were merely a matter of arithmetic, and we urged them not to spoil the effect of a generous act by a petty squabble about insignificant details. We argued with them for a long time; at first the task seemed hopeless, but at last we warmed their cold hearts, we widened their poor narrow little minds, and we won from them a grudging consent! In order to make our victory quite sure we then went—all four of us—the Chancellor, the Governor, the Education Member and the Finance Member—and tackled the other three members of the Government, whom we overpowered by force of numbers! The result is, gentlemen, that if the University figures prove to be correct, we shall receive three lakhs of rupees; if not, we shall receive three lakhs of rupees, less the amount by which our estimates of income are found to be in defect of the actual receipts. Mr. Donald, the Member in charge of Education, is present here to-day and I am glad to take this opportunity of expressing to him the thanks of the University for the help he gave me on that occasion, and my own sympathy with him in having, like myself, to support a dual personality! The method so successfully employed on this occasion I hope to employ with equal success in other matters which are pending between the Government and the University.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am delighted to hear of the amount of recognized research work that the University is producing and I trust, now that our workers are freed from anxiety as to their future, that the record of the University in this respect will continue to improve. I am glad, especially to note that Professor Raman, who combines with Sir Jagadis Bose and Sir P. C. Ray to form our local scientific constellation, consisting of three stars of high magnitude, each with its revolving satellites, continues to add lustre and reputation to the University which he has adopted as his own. I take this opportunity also of congratulating him upon his recent visit to Russia, and I feel sure that he impressed his hosts quite as much as they impressed him.

I now leave the Post-Graduate Department with an assured future and an ever-increasing reputation for scholarship and research, and I ask you to direct your attention to the colleges and the schools. They after all form the foundation of our University and we must not neglect the foundations while we are strengthening the roof. The revision of the Matriculation Regulations is urgent and the revised proposals of the University are now awaiting the approval of Government. With the help of the Education Member, which recent experience justifies me in counting upon, I have every hope that I may obtain from them an early and satisfactory decision in this matter also. Among the proposals of the University is the far-reaching one that Bengali should replace English as the language of instruction and examination in the schools. I am not able to tell you what the attitude of the Government on this matter may be, but I should like to say something about it as Chancellor. It has always struck me, when I have visited the schools in this country, that, in addition to having to acquire a knowledge of several languages, the scholars are severely handicapped by having to study every subject in the medium of a foreign language, and I am certain that this must considerably retard their progress. I have, therefore, complete sympathy with those who would like to see the mother-tongue substituted for English. Unfortunately, as happens so often in India, the application of such a principle is not nearly so simple as it appears. If Bengali were the mother-tongue of all the scholars in the schools of Bengal, the principle for which the University contends could and would have been applied before now. The only difficulty is that there are many scholars to whom Bengali is as much a foreign language as English. What then is to be done in such a case? There are two principles which must, I think, be conceded, and if they are accepted, a solution should not be difficult. The first is that the interests of a majority should not be completely subordinated to those of a minority. If it be in the interest of the large majority of Bengali students that they should receive instruction in the Bengali language, then they should not be compelled to receive their instruction in English, merely because a smaller number of children have a different mother-tongue. That, I think, is a proposition which cannot be seriously contested.

But an equally important principle is that the interests of minorities, if they are sufficiently important, are entitled to some consideration at the hands of majorities, otherwise the tyranny of majority rule may be as great as any other kind of tyranny. For instance, it is recognized, I believe, by everyone that you could not force students in Assam to receive instruction in Bengali merely because their schools are affiliated to Calcutta University. The interests of a large minority of Urdu-speaking Muhammadans in Bengal itself are equally entitled to consideration. We must not forget that even if the number of Moslems in Bengal, whose mother-tongue is Urdu be small, they will have the sympathy of millions, if their interests are not adequately safeguarded.

There is another consideration which must not be lost sight of in the interest of all the students, whether Hindu or Muhammadan. A good knowledge of English is so necessary to the study of any technical subject that it would be a serious handicap to the students if the teaching of English, as a separate subject, were allowed to deteriorate. I hope, therefore, that if the main principle is conceded, the University authorities will consider in a liberal spirit how the interests of minorities may be safeguarded and will take steps to secure an improvement in the teaching of English at the same time that English is abandoned as the medium of instruction in all subjects.

There is one other comment which I should like to make while I am on this subject. This change, which the University has asked for, is not, as some have suggested, a reversal of Lord Macaulay's education policy, but rather a recognition of the completion of its purpose. In Lord Macaulay's time it was certain, in the words of the Committee of Public Instruction of that day, that "the vernacular languages contained neither the literary nor scientific information necessary for a liberal education." Macaulay aimed at creating a body of Indians who would among other things refine the vernacular dialects of the country, and by enriching them with the terms of science borrowed from the nomenclature of the West, render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population. If you are convinced that the time has come when your mother-tongue should be entrusted with the task of conveying all the knowledge required in schools, it is merely a triumphant vindication of that policy. The late Mr. J. D. Anderson described Bengali as "one of the great expressive languages of the world, capable of being the vehicle of as great things as any speech of men." A language which can be described in such words is surely a fit vehicle for the instruction of the boys and girls of Bengal.

There is one other subject referred to by the Vice-Chancellor on which I should like to comment.

Now that the question of the Post-Graduate Department has been satisfactorily settled and the revision of the Matriculation Regulations is nearing accomplishment, the establishment of a Board to deal with Secondary Education remains the outstanding question which is likely to occupy the attention both of the University and the Government in the present year. I sincerely hope that before Mr. Justice Greaves retires from the office of Vice-Chancellor and before I cease to be your Chancellor, this much-needed reform may be accomplished in a manner acceptable to all parties. The Vice-Chancellor has mentioned three conditions as representing the present views of the University. I can assure him that I find nothing to quarrel with in those conditions, though it must be admitted that the second involves a very real departure from the recommendations of the Sadler Commission. I can promise him my personal co-operation to secure a settlement on these lines in the few months remaining to us in our respective offices. The speech which he has made to-day and the conferences which have already taken place on the subject encourage me in the belief that this question is now ripe for solution. The outstanding fact must be apparent to all of us that there is at present no real constructive control of the school system of Bengal. I am aware of the devoted labours of some members of the Syndicate to whom deserving tribute has been paid to-day, but the deep, far-reaching changes required in the whole school system can only be carried into effect by wholetime administrators, working under a body possessed of a more varied experience and far more representative of the various interests in this province of Bengal than that which at present administers it. My meaning will be clear if I venture to remind you that the virtual administrative control of the whole school system of the province rests with a school committee, which includes no representative of industry, nor of commerce, nor of trade, no engineer, no doctor, no teacher in schools, no scientist, no representative of agriculture, no woman; it consists solely of members of the great profession to which you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, belong, and of selected educationists. Grateful though we all are to its unremunerated labours, it obviously suffers from a lack of representative character, and is ill-devised to bear the weight of the increasing burden which rests upon it.

I am glad to hear that an attempt is being made to improve the pay of teachers, and to protect their interests and though it may be impossible to proceed as fast as we should like, I would deprecate an excess of caution in the task of insisting that fee rates adequate to produce a living wage for the teachers are charged. Hungry men can ill bear delay.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, I have dealt with the matters that seem at the moment to offer the best prospects of an early solution. I wish I could see some prospect of an early inauguration of the three years' Honour course in the affiliated colleges, or of an improvement in intermediate education. I am well aware of the immense difficulties in the way of reform here, but I trust that as soon as you can obtain some respite from the other urgent tasks which are engaging your attention, you will attempt some improvement in those directions.

You, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, have recently given utterance to your apprehensions that Bengal is falling behind intellectually compared with other provinces. In so far as this is true, I think it is mainly due to the poor standards in the schools. But a second real contributing factor is the inadequate training which students receive at the intermediate stage. At this stage they are taught in too many cases in immense classes which preclude the possibility of individual attention, and this at a time when they have scarcely learnt to carry on independent study. I am glad to know that you are carefully considering the request of the Government of Bengal that in a few cases schools shall be permitted to add small intermediate classes in which more individual attention may be given. The results of these very desirable experiments, should they take place, will be watched with interest. As regards the three years' Honour course, I can only say that I attach much value to the proposal, and I hope you will not allow it to be shelved.

It cannot fail to be a matter of regret to every member of this University to consider how little it has yet benefited from the wise counsel of the Sadler Commission. Without insisting that that advice was perfect, without emphasizing every detail of their recommendations, I am sure most of us feel that on broad issues they were right. But I find a tendency to challenge even some of their fundamental recommendations and to test over again issues that it was thought were at any rate theoretically decided, with the result that almost every University in India has benefited more from the labours of that Commission than the one which they specially sought to help. Of course, gentlemen, you have every right to try over those issues once again, but if the result is inaction and stagnation, the service you do to your University is equivocal. In the words of Burke, let us " rather run the risk of falling into faults in a course which leads us to act with effect and energy than to loiter out our days without blame and without use." " Public life," he tells us in another passage, " is a situation of power and energy; he trespasses against his duty who sleeps upon his watch as well as he that goes over to the enemy." Let us take warning in this matter from the story of Tarquin and the Sibylline books. An old woman, you will remember, brought nine books which she stated to contain divine oracles and offered to sell them to the king for a certain sum. The king laughed at her and called her mad for demanding such a price. She then burnt three books and offered the six at the same price. The king laughed all the more. Thereupon she burnt three more, and offered the remaining three at the original price. Tarquin, struck with her pertinacity, finally consented to give the whole price for the remaining three books. Ultimately the three books became one of the most treasured possessions of the Roman Republic, being placed under the care of 15 commissioners, whose duty it was to consult them on an order of the Senate. I do not anticipate that the Sadler Commission's Report will ever receive the veneration ultimately conceded to the Sibylline books, but by the continued neglect of it we are losing something we can never regain, just as the King of Rome lost six of the books by his procrastination. Everyday we loiter, the problem is becoming harder to solve; vested interests are growing up and being consolidated; and I fear that unless we are stimulated into action by fear of the dire practical consequences which result from procrastination, such as those which you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, recently touched upon in your public pronouncement at Serampore, we may lose not six, but the whole nine of our Sibylline books, and live to regret the irretrievable loss of treasures that with greater resolution and decision we might have made our own, to the benefit not only of ourselves, but of generations of our descendants.

I must not forget that the object of all our solicitations, our work and anxious care is the student, and as the students are present to-day in far greater number than the professors and tutors, I ought properly to address the bulk of my remarks to them. I fear that I have devoted so much of my time to their pastors and masters that I must shorten the words I would otherwise gladly address to them. But I do desire to remind those young men and young women who have to-day received their degrees that they are at the beginning and not at the end of their education. Most of you have passed your last paper examination and on that I offer you my hearty congratulations. Looking back on my own life I think the day which I recall with the greatest pleasure is that on which I left the examination hall for the last time. But I have since found, as you will find in your turn, that life contains examinations even more testing than those of school or college, and as long as we live we remain on trial. You are at present like those persons whom Plato pictures in his Republic as emerging suddenly into the light of day after having lived for long in the darkness of a subterranean cave. So dazzled were they at first by the glare of the sun that they could not distinguish clearly the many objects that were revealed for the first time to their enraptured gaze. Then when they had got used to the light and returned to their former cave dwelling, they could no longer see in the gloom with eyes that had looked upon the sun. You have emerged from the darkness of ignorance and the sunlight of knowledge now shines with such a splendour upon your path that though it will reveal to you much that is new it may blind you to the true proportions and values of what you see. Be on your guard, therefore, against errors of judgment that are inevitable until experience has given you the necessary perspective. The best protection against such errors is the armour of humility. But do not mistake timidity for humility. Be not afraid to state your opinions and to act up to your principles whatever they may be, but do not assume too readily that either your opinions or your principles are necessarily infallible or superior to all others. Though you are full of light, and everything round you seems to be illumined with your newly acquired knowledge, remember that those who have been longer in the light will see more accurately than you do, and that even those who have remained in the darkness of ignorance will distinguish some things within the limitations of their gloom more faithfully than you can with the sun in your eyes. Go forth then with confidence tempered by humility, with courage, with enthusiasm, with joy, seasoned also with charity, and may the knowledge you have already acquired, supplemented by the experience which will come to you hereafter, teach you to see life steadily and to see it whole.

Ourselves

THE FINANCIAL POSITION OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

Since the transfer of the University of Calcutta to the control of the local Government, the University, already in the throes of financial agony, due largely to the sympathetic attitude of Sir Henry Sharp, has been repeatedly pressing its claims on the attention of the Government. The wide financial outlook of our veteran Education Minister, Sir Provaschandra Mitter, and his firmly established conceptions regarding the functions of a University, led to a tardy non-recurring grant of three lacs of rupees to the University subject to a variety of conditions. Credit must to some extent, however, be given to the short-lived administration of Mr. Fazlul Huq for the frank recognition of the principle that the University is entitled to support from the coffers of the State, freed from the trammels of state-intervention about unnecessary details. Then came the famous Post-Graduate Reorganisation Committee appointed by the Senate. The labours of the Committee in establishing the claims of the University upon the bounties of the State are well known. Few are the moments of heroics in our academic life, but the memory of the five days' struggle in the Senate House is still fresh in our memory. Correspondence and conferences, and domiciliary surprise visits from the Secretariate followed, and after a long-drawn struggle, the Hon'ble Mr. Donald has in his budget included a sum of Rs. 2,43,000 for the University of Calcutta. This sum of money the Government has agreed to pay to the University for a period of five years, and the Government has admitted a further liability for Rs. 57,000 if certain figures adopted by the Government, about which there exists a difference of opinion between the University and the Government, prove incorrect. The demand has thus been made by the

Government and we trust the Bengal Legislative Council will in due course pass this very modest measure of financial assistance to the Calcutta University. So this is the story of that "unconditional surrender" over which H. E. the Chancellor waxed so humorous on the last Convocation day. Neither H. E. Lord Lytton nor his advisers, we are sure, know it, of course, that in making the financial grant for a period of five years, although subject to a possible future adjustment, they were clearly differentiating between the Calcutta University and her beloved daughter at Dacca. She was blessed with a perpetual recurring grant of five lacs of rupees a year embodied in a Finance Bill—her financial position has, therefore, been permanently stabilised. When the Dacca Finance Bill was on the legislative anvil, Sir Abdur Rahim promised the Council from the Olympic heights that similar treatment would be accorded to the University of Calcutta. Sir Abdur Rahim's *régime* was the period of anxious deliberation and mature consideration, and, when the decision was after all arrived at, Mr. Donald cleanly forgot the large promises of his predecessor in office. The reason for this differential treatment between Calcutta and Dacca has been given in language quite admirable: the finances of the University of Calcutta have not been subjected to the same scrutiny as they have been at Dacca. Our readers are probably not aware of the fact that under the statute the power of supervising the University finances is vested in the Government, and an ever watchful Government has not been slow to recognise its statutory duties and an army of auditors on a perpetual commission scrutinise every item of expenditure throughout the year.

Apart from the character of the grant which has been promised for a period of five years, the method of the grant is subject to still graver objections. The Post-Graduate Reorganisation Committee recommended additional financial assistance to the University approximately in the following sliding scale:

	Rs.
1926-27	2,50,657
1927-28	2,71,877
1928-29	2,96,177
1929-30	3,21,857

The Government has, instead of ear-marking the sum of three lacs of rupees for the stabilisation and development of post-graduate studies in Calcutta, made a block grant of a sum of Rs. 2,43,000 and have admitted a further possible liability for Rs. 57,000. In arriving at this figure, the Government has calculated the needs of the Post-Graduate Department merely, stereotyped the receipt side of the University budget, has not taken even the ordinary prudence of average calculation, and has entirely forgotten the other absolutely urgent requirements of the University.

Leaving aside the trust funds with their obnoxious clause about Indian monopoly which has brought down such untold misery on the University of Calcutta, the income of the fee fund has been estimated by the Government at Rs. 12,25,000. The receipts from the various sources may be summed up as follows:

	Actuals, 1922-23.	Actuals, 1923-24.	Revised estimates, 1924-25.	Budget estimate for 1925-26.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. Fees for examinations.	8,77,245	9,30,285	9,62,965	9,51,640
2. Other fees ...	43,024	46,455	41,650	42,800
3. Miscellaneous ...	30,229	33,953	31,500	17,500
4. Sale proceeds of University publications.	47,496	77,670	2,19,900	1,51,050
5. Contribution from the Law College Fund on account of house rent.	67,000	6,000	6,000	12,000
6. Contribution from the Government to meet deficit.	2,50,000	3,03,250	2,10,084	...
7. Miscellaneous items	...	709	6,000	...
TOTAL ...	13,14,995	13,98,321	14,90,289	11,74,990

The total actual receipt for the year 1921-22 was Rs. 9,58,169 which we have purposely omitted to consider as it was a subnormal year due to causes quite well known to the community. If we now analyse the receipt side, we must inevitably come to the conclusion that the income from examination fees is after all a very variable source of income and we are all fairly agreed about one point, *viz.*, a further expansion of this source with a logical lowering of the standard by the operation of the economic doctrine of "supply and demand" will not add to the usefulness or the eminence of an old seat of learning. When we come to analyse the expenditure, however, we are confronted with problems which require insistent solution but which it will be impossible for the University to solve in the near future. To take a very important illustration: the estimated income and expenditure from the fees for the various examinations for the current financial year was as follows:

Examinations.	Income.	Expenditure.
	Rs.	Rs.
1. Matriculation	2,85,000	81,500
2. I.A., I.Sc.	2,58,000	63.000
3 B.A. (Pass) and B. Com.	1,21,500	43,500
4. B.Sc. (Pass)	40,500	
5. Extra fees, B.A. and B.Sc. (Hon.) ...	6,000	
6. M.A. and M.Sc.	40,000	13,200
7. Law examinations	1,41,000	21,500
8. M.L.	400	
9. D.L.	200	
10. Ph.D.	1,000	2,100
11. D.Sc.	400	

Examinations.	Income.	Expenditure.
	Rs.	
12. L.T.	600	600
13. B.T.	2,000	
14. Preliminary Scientific M.B. ...	8,800	46,000
15. First M.B.	16,200	
16. Final M.B.	23,500	
17. M.D., M.O. and D.P.H.	2,400	
18. I.E.	2,000	4,800
19. B.E.	1,340	
20. Fees for late payment of fees ...	800	Expenses at examination centres— 46,000 Answer books —20,000

A careful analysis of the income and expenditure under the head "Examinations" will clearly show that the bulk of the saving is derived from a starvation of the examiners and the paper-setters.

The remuneration payable to our examiners in most of the University examinations has suffered a setback at least three times ; we do not pay any travelling allowances to them and naturally if the theory of "no cure, no pay" holds good in academical circles, our examiners certainly find it very difficult to discharge their onerous duties. To take one illustration again : the law examination candidates were expected to pay about Rs. 1,41,000 whereas the expenditure under this head was expected to amount to about Rs. 21,500 and the University does not pay one single rupee to its paper-setters for the B.L. examinations. Similarly, the internal examiners for the M.A. and the M.Sc. examinations do not get anything paid for their troubles in the matter of paper-setting: the external examiners cannot attend examinations or meetings of the Boards of Examiners as no travelling allowance whatsoever is paid to them. The expenses under the headings "Expenses at Examination Centres—Rs. 46,000" and "Answer Books—Rs. 20,000" require a word of comment. The remuneration that the University pays to the invigilators at the various examination centres is so very low that it becomes impossible to find respectable men to undertake these responsible duties; candidates at the various University examinations are now obliged to write on both sides of the answer book much to their chagrin and to the infinite misfortune of their examiners, and retrenchment on this head should not have been allowed to be perpetuated both by the Government and the University any more. And yet a happy and contented Government announced a generous grant of Rs. 2,43,000 for a period of five years. Doubtless this boon will in due course of time be bolstered up before the next Statutory Commission as one of the achievements of a Government which rested back to "pre-reform" regions. So, this is the story of the "unconditional surrender" of the Government of Bengal to the University of Calcutta.

We did not, of course, find a trace of the non-recurring grant of two lacs of rupees to the University for building up the third storey to the Asutosh Buildings. In vain did Sir Ewart Greaves appeal to the artistic sense of the Chancellor to those truncated pillars which are standing monuments to the generosity of the Government of Bengal: in vain did Sir Abdur Rahim visit the University buildings and expressed his wonder and admiration for the varied activities of the University cramped absolutely for space. May God bless the Presidency College which, we are told, has secured a sum of two lacs of rupees for "necessary expansion." After all, the Government is the custodian of the public funds.

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H. E. LORD LYTTON'S CONVOCATION ADDRESS.

H. E. the Chancellor's Convocation Address this year was one of the most remarkable addresses delivered by the ruler of a province in the Senate House. The whole speech, surcharged with humour, pulsated with sympathy for the aspirations of the University, and H.E. the Chancellor frankly admitted the difficulties of his position. Said his Excellency :

> "It is undoubtedly unfortunate for the University to have for its Chancellor one who is so seriously handicapped.......... The good intentions and benevolent efforts of Chancellor Jekyll are for ever being frustrated by the evil reputation of Governor Hyde."

And no wonder! We know very well that the Post-Graduate Department of the Calcutta University owes a deep debt of gratitude to the scholarly instincts of its Chancellor, but our regret is that the Chancellor does not find time to come into a closer and more intimate touch with the University and its affairs. His exalted position as the head of the Government in this province keeps him in splendid isolation and his advisers are to some extent responsible for the establishment of that political convention which His Excellency so humorously described as the one which lays down that "a governor can do no right." We would have been happier if the other legal convention, *viz.*, the "king can do no wrong" with its logical consequences were followed in this country. For then we would have known the person or the persons who were responsible for supplying some of the materials for the admirable Address of His Excellency and we would not have been slow to apply to them the constitutional maxims laid down by a famous case in England by virtue of which not even a King's Seal nor his pardon establishes immunity for the minister. We wonder who told His Excellency that Bengali was to be the medium of instruction and examination up to the Matriculation Examination of this University. "Among the proposals of the University," so ran the speech of His Excellency, "is the far-reaching one that Bengali should replace English as the language of instruction and examination in the schools." Proceeding further His Excellency observes: "If Bengali were the mother tongue of all scholars in the schools of Bengal, the principle for which the University contends could and would have been applied before now."

His Excellency then points out the special difficulties of Assam, a potent factor in any scheme of academic reform of which His Excellency has definite knowledge. Our regret is that the whole basis of His Excellency's speech is absolutely wrong. The proposal in question which is pending Government sanction for a period of five years is in the following words:

"The Matriculation Examination shall be conducted by means of printed papers, the same papers being used at every place at which the Examination is held. All papers, other than those on the Vernacular, will generally be set in the English language.

The Matriculation Examination shall be a general test of fitness for admission to the University of Calcutta.

Instruction and examination in all subjects other than English shall be conducted in the vernacular :

Provided that the Syndicate may, in special cases or class of cases. make exceptions to this rule or postpone its operation for a prescribed time:

Provided further that whenever the Managing Committee of a School, supported by at least one-half of the parents or guardians concerned, desire that the medium should be a language other than the vernacular, the Syndicate shall exempt the candidates of such school from the operation of the general rule."

"Vernacularisation of the school curriculum" may be the object of the proposal, but there is no attempt whatsoever on the part of the University to cause needless hardship amongst "many scholars" in the words of His Excellency, "to whom Bengali is as much a foreign language as English." Ample safeguards have been retained in the hands of the University in cases when the general operation of the rule is likely to cause difficulties :

> Provided that the Syndicate may, in special cases or class of cases, make exceptions to this rule or postpone its operation for a prescribed time :
>
> Provided further that whenever the Managing Committee of a School, supported by at least one-half of the parents or guardians concerned, desire that the medium should be a language other than the vernacular, the Syndicate shall exempt the candidates of such school from the operation of the general rule.

His Excellency stood on firmer ground when he diagnosed the causes of the intellectual poverty of some of our boys in schools and colleges, but his advisers were again very wrong when they supplied His Excellency with information regarding the administration of Secondary Education in Bengal. His Excellency waxed eloquent over the composition of the School Committee and regretted the undue preponderance of the members of "that noble profession to which the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor belonged." The School Committee, His Excellency should have been told by his advisers, is not the creature of Statute, it is not the child of even the everchanging regulations ; it did not come into being by the touch of the magic wand of the Senate; it is merely an advisory body to the Syndicate which is under the Statute and the regulations responsible in theory only for the administration of the schools in Bengal. The constitution of the School Committee was bound to be inelastic, its decisions are liable to challenge—and are, as a matter of fact, challenged frequently by the Syndicate. Many self-respecting members including, we are told, the Director of Public Instruction, Mr. E. F. Oaten, refused to serve on a committee whose decisions could not, by the operation of the Statute, be final. Lastly, if His Excellency had cared to inquire about its composition, he would have been satisfied that lawyers are numerically very weak there. And yet this School Committee with its instability and its fleeting breath riveted the attention of His Excellency!

Lastly, His Excellency reminded his distinguished audience that some of the recommendations of the Sadler Commission might very well be carried into immediate execution. These "Sibylline books" are indeed "in the custody of worthy Commissioners." These Commissioners forget the important recommendations of the Commission. The Commission recommended wholesale reform, our administrators proposed piecemeal readjustment; the Commission recommended adequate financial assistance to collegiate and secondary education, our administrators always lament the lack of funds; the Commission recommended the liberalisation of the constitution of the University, our Government rests its oars on a constitution which has not merely grown rusty but has outgrown its utility. With the best amongst our University and College teachers outside its pale, the Senate still bears the impress of a nominated body, eighty per cent. of the members being nominated by the Government. The Calcutta University Commission did, indeed, recommend the creation of a Secondary Board and the institution of a three-years Honours Course but their recommendations, we must not forget, were coupled with important financial proposals. Devoid of financial support, educational reform, we must say, is a mockery, a delusion and a snare, although we do not agree with these ardent patriots who see in the proposal for establishment of a Secondary Board of Education not merely a divorce of University education from School education but hear also the death-knell of educational expansion. In the proposal for a three-years' Honours Course they see the collapse of the entire fabric of post-graduate teaching and research and the compulsory abandonment of a very useful sphere of academic activity by our weaker private colleges in Calcutta, and in particular, in the *moffusil.* To them we say, rely on the scholarly instincts, the academic heritage of His Excellency the Chancellor, and academic freedom and academic expansion shall not be permitted to be smothered under the weight of administrative exigencies.

DR. SURENDRAMOHAN GANGULI.

We are glad to note that the mathematical researches of Dr. Surendramohan Ganguli, one of our distinguished Lecturers in the department of Mathematics, have received due recognition from Universities outside India. His work on the "Theory of Plane Curves" has been recommended for study by the Wells College, New York. In the course of a letter to Dr. Ganguli, Prof. T. R. Hollecroft writes:

> "I have been using the revised edition of your *Theory of Plane Curves* in my Mathematics Honor Course this year. It is an excellent text for an advanced course and fills a place that has long been vacant. Are you revising the Second volume on Cubic and Quartic Curves, and if so when will it be published?"

Now that his work has been recognised by Western scholars, Dr. Ganguli's countrymen, we trust, will not grudge his position in the University. Twelve hours of lecture work per week does not give scope for such work and our academic reformers and political reformers would do well to bear this fact in mind.

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UNIVERSITIES CONGRESS.

The third Congress of the Universities of the British Empire will be held this year in London on July 12, and will adjourn to Cambridge on the following day. The Universities Bureau of the British Empire in London have invited the University of Calcutta to send delegates and representatives to attend the Congress and also to suggest subjects for discussion at the Congress. The Syndicate of the University of Calcutta have nominated the following to represent the University at the Empire Universities Congress:

Delegates.

1. Sir Jagadishchandra Bose, Kt., C.S.I., C.I.E., M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.
2. Prof. Herambachandra Maitra, M.A.
3. Bidhanchandra Ray, Esq., B.A., M.D., M.R.C.P., M.R.C.S., M.L.C.
4. Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, M.A.

Representatives.

E. F. Oaten, Esq., M.A., LL.B., M.L.C.
Rev. A. E. Brown, C.I.E., M.A., B.Sc.
Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L.
Surendranath Sen, Esq., M.A., Ph.D.
H. M. Percival, Esq., M.A.
The Hon'ble Sir Atulchandra Chatterjee, Kt.

The Syndicate of the Calcutta University have suggested the following subjects for discussion at the Empire Universities Congress:

The Universities and national life: the adjustment of international culture in University studies: the Universities and the League of Nations: the relation between the State and the University considered academically and in connection with finance: the University and social studies and activities; the Universities and the health of students; the Universities and political inequality; the Universities and political controversy; interchange of University teachers between Eastern and Western countries; the proper state in education at which specialisation should begin; the relation of the Universities to vocational education; and the Universities as centres of spiritual influence.

The Universities of Great Britain and Ireland have invited all delegates from overseas to the Empire Universities Congress to visit them in turn during the fortnight preceding and the week succeeding the meeting in Cambridge.

On July 16 and 17 the delegates will go to Oxford.

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CONFERENCE OF TEACHERS OF HISTORY.

Mr. Surendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., has been appointed to represent the Calcutta University on the Second Anglo-American Conference of Professors and Teachers of History, to be held in London in the week commencing on Monday the 12th July, 1926.

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CONFERENCE ON IMPERIAL EDUCATION.

An *interim* Conference on Imperial Education will be held in Paris from the 24th to the 27th of July, 1926, under the auspices of the League of the Empire and the *Bienvenue Francaise*. The University of Calcutta have appointed the following gentlemen as delegates and representatives to attend the function :

Sir Jagadishchandra Bose, Kt., C.S.I., C.I.E., M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.
Professor Herambachandra Maitra, M.A.
Bidhanchandra Ray, Esq., B.A., M.D., M.R.C.P., M.R.C.S., M.L.C.
E. F. Oaten, Esq., M.A., LL.B., M.L.C.
Rev. A. E. Brown, C.I.E., M.A., B.Sc.
Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Esq., M.A., B.L.
Surendranath Sen, Esq., M.A., Ph.D.
H. M. Percival, Esq., M.A.
The Hon'ble Sir Atulchandra Chatterjee, Kt.
Professor S. Radhakrishnan, M.A.